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The Economy of the Kibbutz

by

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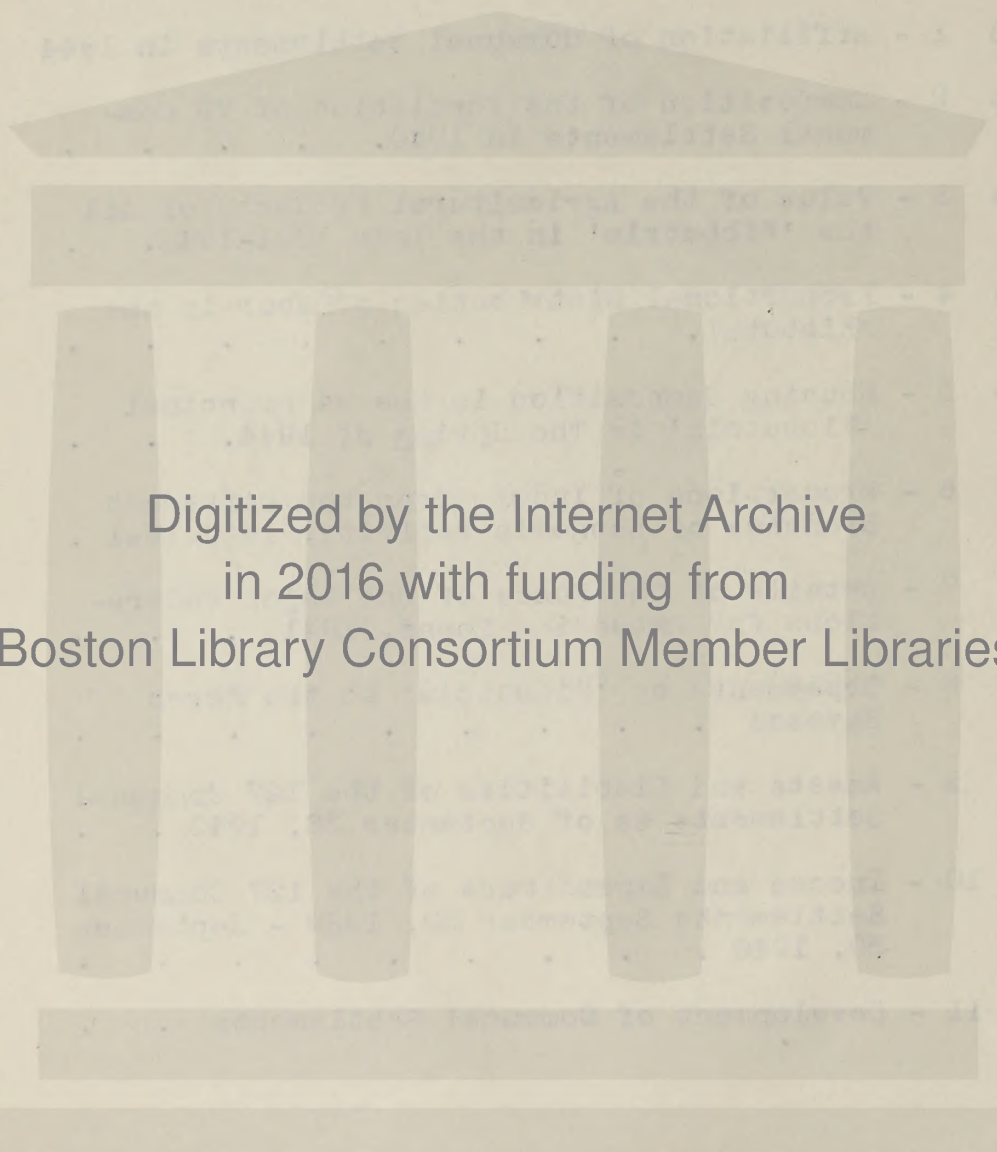
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CHAPTER I

The Jewish and Arab Settlement of the Land

I. Background

It could be argued that the Jewish settlement of the land

was the 'Jewish' or the 'Arab' or the 'Jewish-Arab' settlement.

The Jewish settlement was the result of a long process.

PART I

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE 'KIBBUTZ'

CHAPTER I

The Origin and Historical Development of the Kibbutz

A. Background

It would be a gross misapprehension to consider either the 'kibbutz' or the 'kvutza' as Utopian communities. The 'kibbutz' was conditioned by a confluence of ideologies, that of Zionism, of the German Youth Movement, of socialism. But the 'kibbutz' did not originate in a deliberate attempt to create an entirely new form of social organization on the foundations of a preconceived theory. It evolved, rather, in much the same way as any other normal community. Basically, what shaped its character was the necessity for adaptation to the unusual conditions which are prevalent in Palestine. Hence, the peculiar social structure was necessary to insure survival.

The enterprise of building a Jewish Homeland in Palestine, and the consequent Zionist colonization, created the circumstances without which the 'kibbutz' cannot be understood. This colonization was marked by intensive concentration on agriculture. Such concentration arose not so much because agriculture, per se, was regarded as the most significant fact of Zionism,¹ but rather because the colonists soon came to see that subsistence derived from the soil would always remain the most solid basis for Zionist aspirations.

1. Adams, Frank. "Palestinian Agriculture". Annals of the Amer. Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 164, Nov. 1942 pp. 72-83.

The Zionist Organization began its more intensive rural colonization in Palestine in 1908. It faced a discouraging situation. Political recognition of the Zionist program had not been won. Worse yet, was the fact that any new undertakings in Palestine, at that time a province of the Ottoman Empire, were dependent on the good-will of the baksheesh-hungry Turkish authorities.² At this point, a short history of Zionist colonization in Palestine will more clearly depict the development of the 'kibbutz'.

B. Pre-Zionist Organization Colonization

Prior to the Zionist movement, there had been a Jewish colonization of rural Palestine. The earliest indication in the nineteenth century of the interest of the Jewish people in the resettlement of Palestine came with the purchase of land near Jaffa in 1855 by Moses Montefiore. Fifteen years later the "Alliance Israélite Universelle" founded an agricultural school named 'Mikveh Israel' (Hope of Israel) situated between Jaffa and Ludd. In 1882, after the notorious pogroms in Russia, Leo Pinsker brought out his pamphlet "Auto-Emancipation". He pointed out that Palestine was the only country wherein the Jews could, by their own efforts, obtain freedom from persecution. From his ideas developed a new group called "Choverei Zion" (Friends or Lovers of Zion)³.

2. Infield, H. Cooperative Living in Palestine, Dryden Press, New York, 1944, p. 25.

3. They supported the "Biluists", a settling group in Palestine composed of young Russians.

who were the first to send groups of colonists to the "Land of their Fathers".

It would be gross irreverence to omit a reference, at least, to Dr. Theodore Herzl, the founder of political Zionism. A man of wisdom and keen vision, he was able to foresee what the future held for the Jews as a homeless nation. His outstanding statesmanship enabled him to call together the first World Zionist Congress at Basle, Switzerland in 1897. The result of the congress was the formation of the World Zionist Organization, which Herzl headed until his death in 1904.

The small-scale agricultural colonization which preceded the Zionists remained, though, more or less philanthropic in character. Before 1900, the first Jewish settlers were concentrated in the villages of Rishon-le-Zion and Petach Tikvah. After 1900, they were settled in Lower Galilee. Baron Edmond de Rothschild generously supported these efforts. The colonists produced wine and grew oranges, and later in the Lower Galilee added wheat. The nature and extent of cultivation was determined by the Baron and his supervisors.

The principal aim of these settlers was to enjoy as good a living as the prevailing conditions allowed. Therefore, they did not hesitate, for any reasons, in employing cheap Arab labor. This made their work much easier and more profitable. They soon progressed from the status of colonizer to that of employer; and soon behaved in accordance with their position. Under such conditions, there could not develop any

genuine attachment to the soil. The reason for this being that they themselves looked upon the association with land mainly as a means of using it for their commercial interests. Also, because, not working on the land itself, that feeling of mutual relationship was difficult to develop. They, also, lacked the pride that a farmer usually takes in his work, his soil and his produce. These settlers did not inbreed in the families any ties with the soil, but sent their children to Europe to study as soon as finances permitted.

At that time the number of Jews in Palestine was very small. By 1900, there were only between 40,000 and fifty thousand as the estimated Jewish population.⁴ A large section of these were called 'Halluka-Jews' who had either been sent by religious organizations or had come on their own initiative. Their mission was to devote themselves to pious studies and to pray for all the Jews in the Diaspora. They lived mainly in the four sacred cities of Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias and Hebron.

C. Further Incentives to Colonization

Zionism not only encouraged additional emmigration to Palestine but also gave a new meaning to this immigration. The Zionists succeeded in diverting some of the Jewish emigrants out of Eastern Europe from the Occidental lands to the "old-new" land and used colonization as a means for the national rehabilitation of the Jewish people, in a political sense.

4. Ruppin, Arthur. The Agricultural Colonisation of the Zionist Org. in Pal., Martin Hopkinson & Co., London, 1926.

The problem of attracting new immigrants was none too easy. True, Jews had prayed for over two thousand years for the day of return to Zion. But material conditions in Palestine were not favorable enough to satisfy their natural desire for economic improvement. Despite all Zionist efforts the Jewish population did not exceed ninety thousand at the outbreak of the First World War. During this period, 1901-1920, nearly one and a half million Jews had emigrated to the United States of America.

Traditionally, Palestine has been acclaimed as the land of milk and honey⁵. At one time this may have been the truth. But, to the sorrow of all, not only has this milk and honey disappeared but water, the source of life itself, was also extremely scarce. The area of Palestine, 26 million dunams or 10,000 square miles, was a waste of sand and stone over large areas, and there were also many swamps. Therefore, the persecuted emigrant who was looking for material goods would have done much better elsewhere.

As a result of the negative forces^{exerted} on the Jewish people in Europe, they felt that emmigration to Palestine was a means of expressing their desire for self-determination and the pregnant nationalism. The ideal of Zionism was the attraction to those who were not dominated by economic motives, and this was especially true of high spirited youth. It was not

5. Exodus III, 8.

until Zionism became a vivid belief of the Jewish youth that the colonization of Palestine could take on importance. But it was not until the Balfour Declaration of 1917, favoring the establishment of a Homeland for Jews in Palestine, and the restrictions imposed by the United States on immigration shortly after the First World War, that the best elements of European Jewish youth were induced to participate in the rebuilding of the promised Homeland.

D. Official Zionist Activity

1. Jewish National Fund

In 1901, a "Jewish National Fund" had been established. It was to acquire land in Palestine with the proceeds of contributions from Jews throughout the world. It seemed only just that the land so acquired belong to those who paid for it, that is, to the whole Jewish people. Individuals settling on the land received only leaseholds. This was based on the Biblical code concerning Canaan. When God gave Canaan to the children of Israel, the land remained the Lord's. Those who held it or tilled it could not sell it, bequeath it, nor make a gift of it, and should they do so, then it would revert to the original holder after seven times seven years, the so-called Yovel Year (The Jubilee). The Palestine Office likewise leased its land for forty-nine years. The land rent was stipulated at two percent of the assessed value, this assessment to be charged at certain intervals.

The land was never to be made private property;

further, it was not only national property, but he who acquired it had to serve higher purposes than that of personal profit. It was never to be defiled by speculation or exploitation of others in its working. This ideal underlay the second basic principle of the Palestine Office. The acreage allotted to each settler was limited to the area which his family and he himself could till, with no other help. The area given to each settler has been gradually reduced and may be reduced still further because of the new more intensive methods of farming and the introduction of the use of mechanized farm equipment.

From the very beginning, an air of social reforms permeated the colonization work in Palestine by reason of these two principles. In so far as the land of the National Fund was concerned, private property in land was done away with and the obligation to work made imperative.

2. The Palestine Office

In 1908, the Palestine Land Development Company was founded and the Palestine Office was established in Jaffa. This was the first step in organizing the colonization of Palestine. The management of this office was in the hands of Dr. Arthur Ruppin, a famed sociologist and economist. A farm for training agricultural workers, 'Kinereth', was added to the two existing settlements of Hulda and Ben-Shemen.

The Palestine Office was governed by two principles. First, the land acquired by the Zionist Organization

shall never be owned by individuals but shall forever remain the property of the entire Jewish people; second, no hired labor shall be used in tilling the land. These principles show the spirit of the Zionist movement in its formative years.

E. Change in the Type of Farming.

The Palestine Office was aware that the specialized type of commercial farming as practiced in Petach Tikvah and Rishon-le-Zion was not desirable for new colonization. From their search for more appropriate farming methods, they discovered that the "diversified farming" of the Germans who had settled the villages of Wilhelma and Sarona was the more advantageous. Their system included, simultaneously, dairy and poultry farming, together with wheat and vegetable growing, and where feasible, citrus cultivation. This system offered two important advantages. The farmer raised at least the minimum for his own subsistence. At the same time, his farming being more varied, became more interesting and helped to bind the settler more closely to the new soil. This system was adopted for all the settlements of the National Fund.⁶

The managerial system used under the philanthropic Zionist endeavors of Baron de Rothschild, proved dissatisfactory because the initiative and creative joys of the settlers were thwarted and because the supervisors, who were assimilated French Jews, tried to instill the higher French culture in the pioneers. This same error of engaging disinterested managers

6. Infield, op. cit. pp. 26-30.

for the colonies was committed by the Jewish Colonization Association (I.C.A.)⁷ when it was entrusted with the management of the colonies.

F. New Favorable Conditions of the Second Aliyah

With the Second Aliyah⁸ (Ascent), there came a new set of conditions which drove the workers to form collective settlements. The first condition was an economic one, which resulted from the hardships of the struggle to secure employment in Jewish-owned plantations. This forced them to adopt the system of mutual aid as a means of obtaining security. The second one is derived from the fact that these young men and women were under the influence of the revolutionary social ideals then held by the Russian intelligentsia. They felt that in Palestine, the Jews could establish a more just society based on the principles of co-operation. Labor, as glorified by Aaron David Gordon, was an ideal to the pioneers. These ideals and aspirations caused them to band together in small groups which worked and lived together. In 1908, one of these communal groups made the first attempt to

7. The Jewish Colonization Assoc. founded by Baron Hirsch, which took over in 1899 the Jewish colonies in Palestine financed by Baron Edmond de Rothschild.

8. Zionist historians distinguish five waves of immigration to Palestine. These are known as 'Aliyoth' (singular: 'Aliyah'). The second Aliyah commenced in 1904 and lasted until the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The underlying force were the brutal pogroms in Russia.

assume the responsibility for an I.C.A. training farm. The second successful attempt at collectivism was on a Jewish National Fund farm at Kinnereth. Thus the impetus was given to the new settlers, who were allowed by the Zionist Organization to organize their communities according to their choice, to form these settlements of a new social form which would alleviate the misfortunes caused by lack of funds and experienced land workers and prevent managerial disputes as described previously. Although the new settlers were influenced somewhat by socialist ideals, these new settlements arose primarily out of necessity rather than from socialist influence.

To be sure, all the types of colonies established were not purely collectivist or cooperatives. In some settlements the system is socialistic; but in others, the extent of cooperative endeavors is in marketing their produce, and purchasing essential supplies and provisions of all communal requirements.

G. Oppenheimer's Experiment in Cooperative Colonization.

In 1909, the Ninth Zionist Congress decided to experiment with co-operative colonization along the lines suggested by the well-known German-Jewish economist, Professor Franz Oppenheimer. This experiment conducted on a large farm in Merhavia, in the valley of Esdrelon, was far from a success.

The failure, it was agreed, was largely because Oppenheimer's idea of authoritative management was not suited to the strongly independent character of the Jewish pioneers

in Palestine.

About this same time, the first communal settlement of Degania was founded on a tract of Jewish National Fund land near the Sea of Tiberias. After a dispute with the managers, the responsibility for the work and administration was transferred to the hands of the settlers. No supervisor was appointed, but a visiting agricultural expert gave his advice. The experiment proved successful through the efforts of the struggling pioneers. Thus, all further co-operative agricultural enterprises in Palestine were conducted along the lines of the successful Degania experiment.

H. The Great Growth of the Kibbutz Movement

until 1921, the 'kvutza' was the only type of co-operative agricultural settlement known. The Fourth Aliyah⁹ brought added strength to the growing Kibbutz movement. The social economic and ideological forms of the 'kibbutzim' were being clarified. To them were attracted members of the Jewish Youth movements who were trained along collectivist lines. Scores of new communal groups were founded with the object of penetrating the Jewish-owned plantation with Jewish workers. The number of 'kibbutzim' during this period of the Fourth Aliyah (1920-1931) increased from twelve in 1918 to 24 in 1930, with an increase in population from 404 to 2566; and an increase

9. 1924-26. The confused position of the Jews in Central Europe after the war and England's desire to permit immigration into Palestine to the extent of the economic capacity were the causes.

in area from 14,800 dunams to 76,000 dunams¹⁰.

In 1932, more reinforcements were provided by the Fifth Aliya¹¹. Throughout the thirties and even during the war the Kibbutz movement experienced an even more rapid growth than heretofore. The extent to which this movement has permeated the colonization of Palestine is evidenced by the fact that practically all of the more recently established settlements are collectives and cooperatives based on the principles established under the Kibbutz movement.

10. The Audit union of the Workers' Agric. Coop. Societies LTD. The Pal. Agricultural Economy under War Conditions (Tel Aviv, 1944) p.20.

11. Immigration from 1932 was stimulated by Nazism and Fascism in Europe.

Gertz, Aron. The Social Structure of Jewish Settlement in Palestine, Jerusalem, Zionist Organization Youth Dept., 1946, pp. 41-45.

CHAPTER II

Definition and Characteristics of the 'Kibbutz'

A. Evolution of Terminology

The meaning of the term 'kibbutz'¹ has changed with the development of the cooperative agricultural movement in Palestine. In its earlier years all communal settlements were referred to by the term 'kvutzot'. With further expansion of the movement the term 'kibbutz' came into being. The interpretation of the term, as referring to individual settlements, from this time until 1945 has essentially remained the same, although the entire cooperative agricultural movement was now called the Kibbutz movement. The interpretation can best be expressed in the words of Abraham Revusky...

The Kibbutz is actually a Kvutza in the making. Its members though not yet settled on the land, organize their life on the collective basis prevailing in the Kvutza.....The only distinction between the Kibbutz and the Kvutza consists in the fact that the Kibbutz is not yet in possession of a tract of land, sufficient for all its members. Whereas the Kvutza is definitely established on the soil as the sole means of livelihood for all its members, the majority of the members of the Kibbutz are still doing outside work for wages.²

The accelerated development of the movement in the late "thirties" and early "forties" brought about a transition in the concept of 'kibbutz'. This changing interpretation is

1. May also be written 'kibutz'. The above is generally accepted.
2. Revusky, Abraham. The Histadrut, A Labor Commonwealth in the Making. League for Labor Palestine, New York, 1938, pp. 45-46.

evidenced in the works of the students of the cooperative movement in Palestine which were written about 1944. It now perceives no real differences between the two types of settlements.³

The present meaning of the term, prevailing since late 1945, is that which was formerly ascribed to the term 'kvutza' plus some evolutionary variations. A 'kibbutz', then, is a full grown settlement with a good degree of permanency. The size of the settlement does not enter into the consideration of the definition.

B. Types of Social Organization Among Jewish Rural Settlements

In Palestine, there are four main types of social organization among Jewish rural settlements. The first is the 'moshav(ah)' (settlement) which is simply the traditional individualist village. The 'moshav-ovdim' (small holders' settlement), the second, is a cooperative but retains many individualistic features, especially, private property. The third type is the communal settlements, the 'kibbutz' and the 'kvutza', in which all economic and social functions are strictly cooperative. As will be noted below, there are minor differences between these two, although they are part of the same general classification and movement. A fourth, the 'plugat avoda' (labor group) is a communal group which is not yet settled. It will eventually become a 'kibbutz'.⁴

3. Infield, H.T. Cooperative Living in Palestine.

4. Infield, H. op. cit. p. 22

C. Differences between 'Kibbutz' and 'Kvutza'

The 'kibbutz' and 'kvutza' are essentially the same and the definition to be stated later will refer to both as the same. It is important that the minor variations between the two types of settlements be stated before the definition is given. The only real differences today are in the methods and policies followed in the selection and acceptance of new members, the relative size, and the relationship of the members.

The 'kvutza' is a closed cooperative undertaking dependent only upon its own members. They are ideologically homogeneous and therefore are discriminate and uncompromising in accepting new members. They desire to preserve their intimate integration cemented by the common ideology and outlook on life. This also is the reason why the 'kvutzot' are small units and requires all their members to engage only in the work of the 'kvutza'.

However, in the 'kibbutz', the primary objective of self-sufficiency is coupled with that of absorbing recent immigrants. Therefore size is flexible, membership qualifications lenient, admissions are on a large scale and the members engage in both agricultural and industrial work both within the settlement and outside as long as it contributes to the achievement of self-sufficiency for the unit.

D. Types of Kibbutzim

The 'kibbutzim' may be divided up essentially into two types, the rural and, the more modern one, the urban

'kibbutz'. A further subdivision occurs among the rural 'kibbutzim'. One form of rural 'kibbutz' is where a part of the membership works and lives in the city and the remainder are engaged in the task of preparing the agricultural settlement for the entire membership of the 'kibbutz'. This form is provisional only and the forerunner of the "settled" 'kibbutz'. The second form is one in which all the membership lives on the land given to the 'kibbutz' by the Jewish National Fund, usually on the outskirts of a colony of private landholders. But, a number of members are already working on the colony's own land while most of the membership work for wages on the land of the private colony.

This second form may be classified as a settled 'kibbutz'; all live together in the same colony. They do not need to send away their savings, but use them on the spot for the gradual upbuilding and development of their own agricultural settlement. They are considerably augmenting their saving and investment power by raising a very important part of their food requirements. Some of this second form of 'kibbutz' do not intend to eliminate work for hire altogether, even in the distant future, because of the limited area of their land.⁵

The urban 'kibbutz' is the newest type of communal experiment in Palestine. Such a group has been recently formed in Tel Aviv. The members of the urban 'kibbutz' are mostly wage and salary earners who want to set up a communal quarter

5. Revusky, A., Jews in Palestine, Vanguard Press, N.Y. 1936.

somewhere on the outskirts of the town. In this quarter, they build their own communal dining-rooms and kitchens, their living quarters and children's houses. They develop the land for fruit and vegetables growing so that one part of the income of the group will come from agriculture, one part from industrial production in enterprises owned by the group, and one part from the wages brought back to the group by members employed in capitalistic undertakings in Tel-Aviv.⁶ In both types of 'kibbutzim' all incomes, irrespective of source, are placed in a common treasury.

3. ~~Compare~~ E. Comparison with Russian "Kolkhoz"

There are definite differences between the 'kibbutz' and the Russian 'kolkhoz', the only cooperative outside of Palestine that has succeeded. The 'kibbutz' has no private property whatsoever, while the 'kolkhoz' allows each family to own "three acres and a cow" even though farming is carried on collectively. In the 'kibbutz' there is no money economy; in the 'kolkhoz', wages are still paid to all workers. The 'kolkhoz' is a compulsory form of organization, once the kulakes were "liquidated", while the 'kibbutz' is purely voluntary. If the 'kibbutz' decides to break up into individual small holdings, it may do so.⁷

Thus the 'kibbutz' stands apart as a unique form of organization in that it is a purely democratic and voluntary

6. Samuel, Edwin. "The Communal Villages in Palestine", Contemporary Review, London, April, 1944, pp. 229-34

7. Samuel, E. Ibid.

affair preserved and solidified by a common goal.

F. The Definition and Characteristics

A 'kibbutz', then, may be defined as a communal settlement or group which is permanently settled on land leased from the Jewish National Fund; conducts all its economic and social functions on a strict cooperative basis; is engaged in either agriculture, industrial undertakings or both; and is completely voluntary and democratic.

The most noteworthy characteristics of the 'kibbutz' economy are the absence of private property, with the exception of a very few personal items, the collective farming of the land by parts of the group with all proceeds being paid into a common purse rather than individual wages, the surrender of wages by those working outside the settlement to the common purse. All financial gains accrue to the whole group rather than to any individual or group of individuals. Money is not used as the medium of exchange inside the village.

Some social characteristics are also important in order to understand the definition. The group dine together in a communal dining room with communal kitchens; all members have the same standard of living, whatever their function in the community. Also, and this may be an economic characteristic, there is practically no hired labor. If additional hands are needed they must be cooped as full members of the group, or the labor of members of a neighboring communal village must be "borrowed", to be "repaid" later in the same way. The children

of the group are brought up from infancy in children's houses containing day and night crèches, kindergardens and schools, and do not live with their parents (though they can see them every evening on their return from the fields and spend all day Saturday and Festivals with them).⁸ These features will be treated individually and in more detail.

8. Samuel, Hon. Edwin, "The Communal Villages of Palestine", Contemporary Review, London, April 1944, pp. 229-34.

PART II

THE KIBBUTZ - HOW IT FUNCTIONS

CHAPTER III

Administration

A. Organized as a "Cooperative Society"

Each communal settlement is organized as a "Cooperative Society" under the Co-operative Societies Ordinance of 1933. All the 'kibbutzim' have the same written constitution, which is approved under that Ordinance.¹ This constitution gives the 'kibbutzim' the power to conduct business, to borrow, to sign any agreement and generally to act as a juristic personality.

B. The General Meeting - The Supreme Authority

The constitution places the supreme authority in all economic and social matters in the General Assembly of members, also called the General Meeting. This General Meeting must be held annually and whenever required by not less than one-third of the members of the 'kibbutz'. The annual meeting is usually held at the beginning of the agricultural year. At this meeting, all matters relating to economic affairs are decided upon. The assembly prepares the production program for the coming year and draws up the detailed budget. It also gives directives to the executive committee, known as the committee of management, which is entrusted with the implementation of all resolutions and decisions of the General Meeting.

The procedure of voting is very simple. Each member

1. The text of the constitution is Appendix A.

of the 'kibbutz' is entitled to one vote, which is expressed by a show of hands unless one-tenth of the members present require a secret ballot, which is very rarely done. A simple majority of votes at the General Meeting is sufficient to bind all members to its decisions.

C. The Administrative Bodies

The committee of management is officially known as the Secretariat. This body is composed of three or more members and usually meets once a week. No official status is accorded to the chairman of the committee. It usually consists of a secretary, a treasurer; more often these two are one person, a labor organizer and the "mukhtar", who deals with external affairs relating to the Government and the neighboring Arab villages. In the larger 'kibbutzim', there are Secretariat members who deal with purchases and distribution of supplies.

The committee of management is assisted by several standing committees, the members of which are elected directly by the members of the 'kibbutz' at the General Meeting. A labor committee is organized to detail the members for work and it is responsible for the execution of the working program in every branch of activity, including also the domestic services (household, kitchen, children's house etc.) in accordance with the program drawn up for the entire year. Each branch of activity is headed by a member who is responsible for it, or by a committee of workers who are permanently engaged in the

branch. The social affairs are also organized by these assisting committees. They concern themselves with all the current requirements of the members. Each of these committees, health, education, cultural, membership and others, are allocated a budget for their activities.^{2.}

Although any working member may be elected to the Secretariat, it is usually the more experienced men and women who are elected and reelected to these posts. Every effort, however, is made to prevent the establishment of a permanent bureaucracy.^{3.}

D. Administrative Accounting

Every 'kibbutz' works according to a budget drawn up each year in advance which includes the estimated income from all the economic activities of the 'kibbutz' and the estimated expenditures for the management of both the collective farm and the collective household. As a result of many years experience, these budgets are now drawn up with great accuracy and are faithfully adhered to. They are published in the village and the statistical publications of the federation concerned and of the Jewish Agricultural Workers' Union. Elaborate accounts are kept on a standardized basis in each 'kibbutz' which enables the comparative cost of every product in every 'kibbutz' to be accurately determined. Each year's accounts

2. Gertz, Aron, The Social Structure of Jewish Settlement in Palestine, (Jerusalem, 1946) (Hebrew).

3. "Handbook of the Jewish Communal Villages in Palestine", Jerusalem, 1938, pp. 8 and 9.

are audited by certified accountants appointed by the Audit Union of the General Federation of Jewish Labor of the 'kibbutzim'. The audit and other findings and reports are published by the Audit Union.⁴

4. E. Causes of Variations Among the 'Kibbutzim'

Despite the fact that all the 'kibbutzim' have the same constitution and administration, in the various 'kibbutzim', there are substantial differences noted by outsiders, sometimes, and by close observers. These differences may occur between members of the same federation. They are attributable to the differences in social atmosphere, in their cultural activities, and in the relative importance placed on the social and economic development. These differences depend largely on the variations in the character of the members themselves.⁵

4. Samuel, Edwin, The Handbook of the Jewish Communal Settlements in Palestine, Jerusalem, Jewish Agency, 1945, p. 34. Will be referred to as the 'Handbook'.

5. Ibid. pp. 8-10.

CHAPTER IV

Political Affiliations

A. Membership in the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine

While there is no internal politics within a 'kibbutz', the individual members and the 'kibbutzim' as units engage in the political activity of the 'Yishuv'¹ through affiliations. Practically all the members of the 'kibbutzim' are members of the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine. Through affiliation with the Jewish Agricultural Workers' Union (of which they form the Backbone) and with 'Nir' ("Furrows") Company Ltd., the workers' colonizing society. The communal settlements through their members play a very important role inside the 'Histadrut'. As is pointed out in the "Handbook", "..... the 28,600 members of the 'kibbutzim' exercise an influence for outweighing their numerical strength, partly due to the fact that many of the most effective leaders of the Federation, are themselves members of the 'kibbutzim', and partly because the Federation, as a socialist organization, takes particular pride in the 'kibbutzim' as one of the most successful of the many socialist experiments it has initiated in Palestine." 2.

B. The Federations

Most of the communal settlements and collective labor

1. The Jewish Community in Palestine.

2. Samuel, Handbook op cit. p. 26.

groups are organized in country-wide federations. These federations have as their purpose a great variety of tasks, including regulating the movement of new immigrants towards existing settlements, or their formation into new groups; setting up economic enterprises for all the communal settlements affiliated to them; maintaining economic and social advisory institutions for new and old settlements on the basis of exchange of practical experience; maintaining general educational and cultural institutions common to all affiliated settlements; representing affiliated settlements before the colonizing institutions in matters related to grants of land and settlement budgets. Their scope of activities is unlimited in regard to aid and benefits to the constituent 'kibbutzim' and 'kvutzot'.

There are four main federations today. They have traditionally differed on certain economic and social questions, such as the size of the 'kibbutzim' and the relative importance of agriculture and industry; and, to a certain extent, political questions. In order of their numerical importance, they are 'Hakibbutz Hameuchad' ("United Communal Settlement Group"), 'Hakibbutz Ha'artzi Hashomer Hatzair' ("National Federation of Communal Settlements of Hashomer Hatzair"),³ 'Hever Hakvutzot' ("Association of Communal Settlements"), and 'Hakibbutz Hadati' ("Organization of Othodox Communal Settlements").

1. 'Hakibbutz Hameuchad' ~~'Hameuchad'~~.

3. Will be referred to subsequently as 'Hakibbutz Ha'artzi'.

Hakibbutz Hameuchad' is the largest federation of communal settlements in Palestine⁴. Its aim is "the establishment of large communal settlements, open to all, on the basis of both hired and independent labour, of agriculture, handicrafts and industry, of mixed farming, of the

4.

Table I

Affiliation of Communal Settlements in 1944

No. of settlements*	Hakibbutz Hameuchad	Hashomer Hatzair	Hever Hakvutzot	Hakibbutz Hadati	Various	Total
	38	32	29	5	7	111
Population	16,900	8,300	6,490	960	850	33,500
Area in dunams	131,530	98,440	53,630	16,410	14,800	314,810
Fruit Plantations Citrus groves, dunams	2,080	760	990	70	—	3,900
Others, dunams	5,380	3,600	3,700	250	110	13,040
Crops, unirrigated, dunams	82,780	62,420	37,150	9,140	5,220	196,710
Irrigated dunams	13,450	8,790	8,410	800	680	32,130
Cattle	3,560	2,580	2,530	160	200	9,330
Poultry	60,820	47,420	37,110	7,110	1,510	147,970
Production in 1944						
Milk in 1,000 Litres	8,304	5,416	5,152	249	306	19,427
Eggs in 1,000 units	8,033	6,365	5,230	489	215	20,332

*only established settlements are included

Source: Gertz, op. cit. p. 57

ingathering of the exiles of Israel and their integration into one community". This federation is prepared to participate fully in the process of reclamation of the land. Because of its primary purpose, the settlement of as many Jews as possible in Palestine, it has hewn the new path of combining agricultural settlement with supplementary trades. The settlements of 'Hakibbutz Hameuchad' are autonomous in their social life and economic activities, but there exists a great amount of co-operation between them. They recognize the authority of the central organization on such questions as employment and distribution, cooperative economic enterprise, and mutual aid on an inter-'kibbutz' scale, among many others. The federation provides educational, cultural and other material and aid necessary to develop, supervise and guide affiliated settlements in their social and economic life. It also has a Central Fund with which to finance and encourage economic enterprises and to develop mutual responsibility⁵. The capital to finance all its activities is obtained from fees paid on a progressive scale on the basis of profitable economic development by all the members and by contributions given regularly by the affiliated settlements. 'Hakibbutz Hameuchad', as such, has no clearly defined political line, and its members may belong to any particular party they wish, although, the vast majority are socialists.

2. 'Hakibbutz Ha'artzi Hashomer Hatzair'

5. Refer to Table 7 on page 60.

The Federation of Communal Settlements of Hashomer Hatzair unites all the communal settlements whose members belong ideologically to the 'Hashomer Hatzair' movement.⁶ Each of the affiliated settlements represent an organic social unit, autonomous in its internal affairs. The size of every member of 'Hakibbutz Ha'atzi' is limited, usually to one hundred and fifty adult members, aside from children and parents of members. This is in direct contrast to the attitude of 'Hakibbutz Hameuchad' which encourages the unlimited growth of its affiliated groups, some of which have close to a thousand members each. 'Hakibbutz Ha'artzi' constitutes an independent political group within the Labor movement and the Zionist movement, characterized by a Marxist approach. Its aim is to direct the social and political activities of its 'kibbutzim' in Palestine and to guide and instruct the movement as a whole in the Diaspora. As the other federations, this, too, maintains institutions and enterprises. Its educational institutions (at Mishmar Haemek, Sarid and Beth Alpha) are noteworthy. The other activities are manifestations of its aims. The communal settlements of 'Hashomer Hatzair', in view of their limited membership, rely mainly on agriculture for their subsistence, although many of them have introduced industrial and transport enterprises.

6. 'Hashomer Hatzair' ("Young Watchman") is a very unusual organization, or rather party, of working pioneers, which combines its own brand of communism with an ardent nationalistic persuasion. It is the most daring and thorough application throughout the world of communistic principles--in the economic, not the political, sense of the word--to practical life.

3. 'Hever Hakvutzot'

The oldest of the federations is the 'Hever Hakvutzot', which in its earlier days included those settlements now affiliated with the other federations. Those settlements that remained in 'Hever Hakvutzot' still believed in the original form of the 'kvutza' as laid down by the first 'kvutza', Dagan. From the point of view of settlement structure, it is similar to 'Hashomer Hatzair' in that its settlements favor a cohesive social group, of small numbers and based on longstanding personal association between the members. It believes that the small 'kibbutz' is more successful. Like the 'Kibbutz Hameuchad', 'Hever Hakvutzot' is not attached to any party, although, most of its members are-- socialist in outlook.

4. 'Hakibbutz Hadati'

The most recent of the larger federations formed in 1936, is 'Hakibbutz Hadati' (The Religious Group). Their social and ideological structure is based on the principles of religion and the Torah (Bible). Organizationally, they are akin to the communal settlements of 'Hever Hakvutzot'. It maintains all the institutions that have been mentioned in connection with all the other federations. The members of the affiliated 'kibbutzim' are both religious and socialist. Being a young group, its program has not, as yet, indicated any political affiliation.

5. Others

There are a few minor groups of settlements not affiliated with any of the above federations. 'Hanoar Hatzioni' ("The Zionist Youth") is a General Zionist Workers' Organization with a few settlements. One 'kibbutz' belongs to the ultra-religious 'Agudas Yisrael' movement. With the exception of one, all the communal settlements are affiliated to the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine.⁷

7. Gertz, op. cit. pp. 49-57

CHAPTER V

The Kibbutz - Its Population and its Property Concepts

A. Composition of Population

The population of each communal settlement consists of working members, their children and elderly parents. In addition to these groups many 'kibbutzim' take in apprentice workers, especially from Youth Aliyah (the immigration of refugee children), temporary residents, probationers, and, in many cases, children from other communities who have come to live in the 'kibbutz' either to attend school or receive a training in agriculture.¹ As shown in the following Table 2 the proportion of workers is high, especially in the newer settlements, because of the fact that the communal settlements are usually founded by young people. The dependents include elderly parents of workers, as well as former workers of the 'kibbutz' who are now spending their old age there. Table 2 shows the composition of the population of the 'kibbutzim' and 'kvutzot' in 1940.

Table 2

Composition of the Population of 79 Communal Settlements in 1940

# of Communal Settlements	Workers	Children	Dependents	Youth Aliyah	Outside children	Total
40-founded before 1936	9,377	3,654	701	1,534	291	15,557
39-founded since 1936	5,284	904	74	265	31	6,558
Total	14,661	4,558	775	1,799	322	22,115

Source: Gerhard Muenzner and Ernst Kahn, Jewish Labour Economy in Palestine; the Economic Activities of the General Federation of Jewish Labour (Histadruth Ha'Ovdim) Jerusalem, 1943, p. 7.

1. Samuel, 'Handbook' p. 6

The number of inhabitants of the 'kibbutzim' varies anywhere from about 40 to over 1000 persons. The large majority of 'kibbutzim' have a population between 100 and 400. There is even greater variations in the area of the land used by the collectives. Ramat Rachel, the smallest settlement, in 1943 occupied but 160 dunams, and Tel Yosef, the largest, 12,160 dunams.²

All able-bodied members of working age in a 'kibbutz' work for the 'kibbutz' without wages both on the communal farm and in its household administration. There are no able bodied adults who do not work. There is no social differentiation whatsoever between the various types of work.

B. Absence of Private Property

The outstanding feature of the 'kibbutz' is the almost complete absence of private property. Virtually most goods are owned and services provided collectively. In the beginning, even clothes were regarded as common property, but the 'kibbutzim' have realized that dress is a matter of personal taste, so that now only working clothes are public property, and even this varies from 'kibbutz' to 'kibbutz'.³

The above proposition, however, is valid because the extent of personal wearing apparel is a negligible portion of the total goods and services.

1. In Land.

The land is leased to the 'kibbutz', as

2. Ibid. Appendix H.

3. Hartog, Anna: The Jewish Communal Settlements in Palestine, Habonim, N.Y., 1945, p. 11.

a whole, by the Jewish National Fund and not to any individual or group within the 'kibbutz': the land is public property as was intended by the Jewish National Fund. The abolition of private property has made possible the standardization planning and designing of the architecture for each settlement as a whole. This is achieved through cooperation with the Technical Department of the Jewish Agency.⁴

2. As Affects Wages and Income.

All income from the collective farms and other communal enterprises, as well as, the wages earned by members who during the slack seasons take employment outside the 'kibbutz', go into a common purse controlled by all the members of the settlement.

3. In Relation to All Operating Costs

All the costs of running the collective farms, and of maintaining the members of the 'kibbutz' and their children is covered from the common purse. The members of the 'kibbutz' live in houses built, owned and maintained by the 'kibbutz'.⁵

All the members of the 'kibbutz' are equal irrespective of their position or job, whether male or female, and whether adults or youths. They eat at the same tables, wear the same clothes and have the same type of accommodations.

C. The Effect of the Absence of Private

Property on Efficiency and Operations

4. Samuel, E. - op. cit.

5. This will be treated in more detail in ch. 5.

The question naturally arises whether or not the absence of private property in the 'kibbutzim' results in waste and inefficiency. All authorities have agreed that this has not been a problem. The pioneer's faith that their way is the right one and that their national and social ideals are sound has apparently been so strong that it has enabled them to overcome many difficulties and resist many temptations, including those connected with private property. Monetary reward, which is the basis of the capitalist economy, is replaced in the communal settlement by social reward. Here recognition by the group of the individuals achievements or devotion is the incentive to economic endeavor that in our Society has been thought possible only through the institution of private property. The social consciousness and collective responsibility manifested by the members of the 'kibbutz' has, indeed, been remarkable. The future is unpredictable in this respect, but, as yet, no departure from fundamental collectivist principles has occurred.⁶

D. Common Ownership of Gifts

The principle of common ownership extends to gifts and money received by any of the members. Upon receipt of any gift, whether it be money, clothes or food, the member voluntarily turns it in. He usually is given preference to these items other than money. As in the case of the maintenance of other collectivist principles, the sincerety and high ideals of

6. Hartog, A. op. cit. p. 11.

the members insure the success of such practices.

CHAPTER VI

Agriculture and Industry

A. Agriculture

The very first economic undertaking in any new settlement is the preparation of the soil for agriculture and then, putting the land into productive use. Agricultural gain forms the largest part of the income of the 'kibbutzim'.

1. Use of Mixed Farming

In the early days of the 'kibbutzim', the 'chalutzim' initiated the system of mixed farming. This was the result of the costly errors committed by their predecessors, which exhausted their capital and disintegrated settlements.

Almost all the 'kibbutzim' are based on mixed farming. This lessens the dependence of the 'kibbutz' upon the success of one crop. The farming is carried on with extensive use of machinery. In 1944, together with the smallholders villages, they produced nearly two-thirds of the total output of cereals, vegetables, milk and eggs of the Jewish farms, and an even higher proportion of the fodder crops.¹ In the year 1940-1941, the value of the agricultural products of the communal settlements was approximately 1,987,000 Palestine Pounds;² that of the smallholders' settlements was LP. 769,000, and that of outside labor groups amounted to

1. Audit Union of the Workers' Agricultural Cooperative Societies, Ltd. The Palestine Agricultural Economy under War Conditions (Tel Aviv, 1944) p. 16. Also, see Table 1 on p. 30.
2. LP is equal to Pound Sterling.

LP. 270,000, giving a total of LP. 3,026,000.³ In 1941-1942, the last year for which figures are available, it amounted to LP. 2,105,000 and consisted of the following products:

Table 3

Value of the Agricultural Products of All The 'Kibbutzim' in the
Year 1941 - 1942

Products	Value (in LP)	Percentage of Total
Dairy	469,000	22
Field crops	430,000	21
Vegetables	387,000	18
Fruits and nurseries	283,000	13
Poultry	242,000	12
Irrigated fodder	161,000	8
Sheep	63,000	3
Fish-ponds	42,000	2
Bee-hives	<u>28,000</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	2,105,000	100%

Source: Statistical Department of the Jewish Agency, quoted from Samuel, "Handbook", p. 30.

2. Expansion of Agricultural Output

The expansion of the agricultural output of the 'kibbutzim' in the last twenty-five years arose partly through

3. Muenzner and Kahn. op. cit. p. 9. This book contains the most detailed and most reliable information on the economic activities and financial condition of the 'kibbutzim'.

an increase in the cultivated area, capital investment and of the number of 'kibbutzim', and partly through increase in yields.

The increase in yields in the 'kibbutzim' is partly the results of the improvement of stock and better methods of cultivation. In this, the Jewish Agricultural Experimental Station at Rehovoth has played a considerable part, as have also the all - Palestine professional associations⁴ of experts in each branch of agriculture from the several 'kibbutzim'.

In spite of the increase of yields in the 'kibbutzim', the yields of some farmers in the 'moshavei-ovdim' are sometimes higher. In an individualist farm, the farmer's wife can often devote more attention to the poultry and vegetables than in the 'kibbutzim' because her house chores do not fully absorb her time thus allowing her to supplement her husband's labor and increase the yield per dunam. In other branches, however, the yield per dunam is often higher in the 'kibbutzim' than in the individualist farms, while the costs of production are lower, especially in such branches as the field crops, where mechanization and mass production can be used to advantage.⁵

3. Quality of Agricultural Commodities

The agricultural commodities turned out by the

4. The following associations now exist:

- Cereal Growers' Association
- Fruit Growers' Association
- Cattle Breeders' Association
- Poultry Breeders' Association
- Sheep Breeders' Association
- Bee Keepers' Association
- Fishermens' Association

5. Samuel, Handbook op cit. p. 30-31

communal settlements are noted for their excellent quality. In testimony to this fact, the following quotation from the Report of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies:

From the point of view of the community the "Kvutza" offers all the advantages of controlled and planned mass production. It is well known in Palestine that for high quality products, unadulterated milk, pure cream and exotic vegetables and fruits one can always turn to the "Kvutzoth". There are very few other institutions in Palestine which have acquired such a reputation or which have developed specialized farming for the market to such an extent.⁶

The communal settlements have done and are doing some exceptionally excellent pioneering and experimental work in dairying, poultry husbandry and vegetable gardening, as well as, in every other phase of agriculture.

B. Industry

1. The Introduction of Industrial Establishments

Agriculture alone does not provide the most secure economic structure for the 'kibbutzim'. There are seasonal fluctuations in production causing similar fluctuations in labor needs. To alleviate these conditions, a growing number of industrial establishments have been established on collective farms. The collective farms, as a rule, choose industries which can, if necessary, operate with skeleton staffs during the months when the workers are needed in the fields

6. Registrar of Cooperative Societies, "Report of Developments during the Years 1921-1937 (Jerusalem, 1938), p.80. 'Kvutza' here means 'kibbutz'.

or groves.⁷ Another reason for the establishment of factories in the settlements was as a means of supplementing the income from primary production (agriculture and dairy farming) with that from secondary production (manufacturing).⁸

2. The Role of Factories in the Kibbutz

The types of factories in the 'kibbutzim' are very diversified. Among them are factories for the production of jam and canned foods, agricultural tools and machinery, metal-work, precision instruments, boxes, brick, and many other items. Also, the extent to which the 'kibbutzim' have adopted industrial enterprises differs widely. In general, the smaller 'kibbutzim' derive a much higher proportion of their income from agriculture than the larger ones.⁹ Afikim and Givat Brenner, for example, derived about half of their income from industrial projects in 1941. By the end of 1944, there were over fifty factories in the settlements, employing about 1,200 workers.

These factories are supplied with raw materials which are imported. They supply markets in the towns of Palestine with their products as well as export a considerable portion of their manufactures. The rural factories enjoy many advantages over urban factories. The workers in the settlements are all part-owners of the factory and hence are much more devoted to the enterprise and much more concerned

7. Revusky, A. Jews in Palestine op. cit. p. 130

8. Samuel, E. Contemporary Review, op. cit.

9. See below, on Income - p. 53

about its success. They reside near the factories. Equal incomes are received by all; the managers' "salary" is no higher than that of the window cleaner. Rent is low; labor is relatively cheap and plentiful. No dividends have to be paid. The costs of these factories are exceptionally low. They can undercut most Jewish urban factories (to the consternation of the owners) and in many cases even Arab factories.

The factory in the 'kibbutz', however, presents a management problem. It is very difficult to manage a communal factory if it is under the control of the General Meeting. The majority of farmers do not know anything about factories, their operation and management, and are even less interested in them.

Some of the newer factories are being set-up by two or more 'kibbutzim' jointly. This type of enterprise not only provides a larger labor reservoir, but is one which enables a joint board of management, not dependent on any one General Meeting, to manage and handle the factory affairs.¹⁰

The value of the products turned out rose from LP. 450,000 in 1941 to LP. 700,000 in 1942 and over LP. 1,000,000 in 1943. The war effort added an additional incentive to the 'kibbutzim' to develop industries,¹¹ but while many more

10. Samuel, "The Communal Villages", op. cit.

11. Grunfeld, W., "Kibbutz Industry", Dava Hechalutz, Nov., 1944, pp. 28-30.

'kibbutzim' are establishing factories and thus are somewhat changing the complexion of the 'kibbutzim', agriculture will remain the major field of economic activity in support of the majority of members. In time, however, 'kibbutzim' may be established primarily on an industrial basis in areas prohibitive to agriculture.

CHAPTER VII

Working and Living Conditions and Incomes

A. Distribution of Labor and Working Conditions

1. Distribution of Labor

One of the principles of the 'kibbutz' is that every able-bodied person must take his place in the work of the settlement. In the early stages of a 'kibbutz', nearly all working members are available for any duty, the men principally in the fields and on watch duty, the women primarily in the kitchen, laundry and children's houses. Although women do men's work in most branches, they do not participate in the night watch or the few other tasks which are either too strenuous or too dangerous. The work was assigned to the members by a system of rotation, so that they could learn all branches of farming. In the course of time, however, individual members develop special aptitudes in particular branches and tend to remain in those fields beyond the normal period of duty. At present, specialists and experienced workers have steady jobs, because this is more efficient. Those members who do not undertake routine duties form a mobile labor reserve which is allotted duties weekly by the labor organizer according to seasonal demands, such as carting and harvesting. Everyone, though, takes turns at household and service tasks, such as kitchen work and waiting on tables.

The proportional distribution of labor among the various branches that generally prevails in the 'kibbutz' is

shown in Table 4 which gives figures for 1938-39 (later figures are not available:--

Table 4

Productive Work	55%
Domestic Service	30%
Rest, sickness, maternity, vacation, convalescence and interruption of work by heavy rains	<u>15%</u>

Total 100%
figures by the Statistical Department of the Jewish Agency
for Palestine.

2. Planning and Distribution of Work

Planning and distribution of work is a particularly important function. Every evening the labor organizer makes out the duty sheet on which all work to be done the following day is listed, beside which is the name of the person or persons assigned to do the task and the approximate length of time it should take to complete it. This duty sheet is posted on the main bulletin board in the dining-hall.

3. Hours of Work

While it may be true that the members are working for the benefit of the entire settlement, they are not overburdened with work or given strenuous hours of work for the purpose of enriching the settlement. The members of the 'kibbutz' usually work eight to ten hours a day (more at the peak seasons) with three hours off at noon in the summer and one hour off at noon in the winter. Most 'kibbutzim' allow their members six or seven days holiday a year. Not all

working members of the 'kibbutzim' were, however, able to enjoy the full holiday during the Second World War. Because many of the members were away on active service, the strain on the remainder was considerable, in spite of the presence of many temporary members. The members of the 'kibbutzim' usually observe the traditional Jewish holidays as secular holidays. In the younger 'kibbutzim' more than in the older ones, further stoppage of work is caused by the heavy rains because in the older 'kibbutzim' there is more indoor work to be done.^{1.}

B. Living Conditions

1. Living Quarters

When a 'kibbutz' is first established, the members live in tents, with perhaps wooden huts for the dining-room, kitchen and children's houses. As soon as possible, permanent buildings, usually of concrete, are erected, first for the children's house, cowshed and dairy, while wooden huts are built for living quarters for the members. Concrete living quarters are provided later as funds are available.

In the spring of 1944, nearly all the children of ninety-four principal 'kibbutzim' were living in concrete buildings, but only half the adults, as the following figures show:

1. Samuel, Handbook op. cit. pp. 22-23

Table 5

Housing Composition in the 94 Principal 'Kibbutzim' in The
Spring of 1944

<u>Percentage living in</u>	<u>Adults</u>	<u>Children</u>
Concrete buildings	50	98
Wooden huts	40	2
Tents and Others	<u>10</u>	<u>--</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Source: Statistical Department of the Jewish Agency, quoted from Edwin Samuel, "Handbook of the Jewish Villages in Palestine," 2nd ed. (Jerusalem, 1945), p. 13.

this is not satisfactory but inevitable in a rapidly developing country. In the warm climate of Palestine, the lack of permanent housing is less of a hardship than in northern Europe.

Special provision is made in the budget of the 'kibbutz' to provide and replace furniture for the living quarters. As much furniture as possible is made and repaired in the workshops of the 'kibbutz'. A member of the 'kibbutz', usually one on light duty after illness or an elderly member, is charged with seeing that the living quarters and furniture are kept in good repair.

Each married couple usually have one room, while two or more unmarried men or several unmarried women share a room. In the children's houses, there usually are five children to a room.

In most 'kibbutzim', blocks of four or five living quarters are built under one roof, usually one story. There

is a tendency, however, to favor smaller dwellings consisting of only about four rooms each, and to build the houses further apart.

In a few 'kibbutzim separate rooms are built, as funds permit, for the older working members to give them greater privacy. Although separate rooms are more expensive to build than flats, many married couples in the 'kibbutz' prefer them. The problem of privacy is one of the most difficult problems that the 'kibbutzim' have had to face. So much of their working life is spent in the public eye -- in the communal dining-room, the reading rooms and even the bathroom, that this has a tonic effect on the conduct of most members, but it is undoubtedly a strain on many of them.².

2. Children's Houses

One of the most striking features of the 'kibbutz' is the Children's houses. In most of the villages the children live and sleep here rather than with their parents. The common nursery, to which infants are brought almost immediately after birth, has been a necessity in the communal settlements, since it relieves the mothers for productive work. The children are carefully provided for by trained nurses and teachers with the aid of female members assigned to work in the children's houses. The children have their own communal dining-room and laundry. They eat, sleep, work and play in their own

houses. The children, representing the hope for the future of the developing Homeland are given the best first, and as soon as possible after the settlement of the 'kibbutz'. Consequently, the cost of raising children in the 'kibbutz' is relatively high.³ In some 'kibbutzim', such as Degania A, the children stay with their parents for the night, but spend daytime hours in the same manner as the children in the other 'kibbutzim'.

3. Distribution and Maintenance of Clothing

Another unique system peculiar to 'kibbutz' life is the distribution, maintenance and care of clothing. The laundry, sewing-room and the store-room of the 'kibbutz' supply the clothing required by its members, their children and elderly parents. Provision is made in each year's budget for the purchase, in bulk, of the material required to make clothing for all the members of the 'kibbutz'. The material is made up into clothing and shoes by the communal tailor, seamstress and shoemaker. Styles are all very simple but each outfit is made to the taste of the individual owner. The clothing committee know, by experience, the average length of life of each article of clothing for workers in each occupation. Provision is made by the committee for more frequent replacement of the clothing of those workers, such as tractor-men or cooks, who are engaged in the more arduous occupations.

Each new member of the 'kibbutz' brings to it his

3. Freedman, Joseph. "From Dan to Beersheba". Part III, Opinion, vol. 15, Jan., 1945, pp. 10-12.

own clothing which is marked with his name. When it is soiled he places it in a bin in the laundry where it is washed, repaired and placed in the sewing-room on an open shelf bearing his name. When the sewing-room worker finds that the clothing is worn out, a duplicate is made to measure and placed on the shelf in place of the worn out article.

Careless adults and children are asked by the clothing committee to take more care of their clothes. Those in the same occupation that wear out their clothes more quickly than others are provided with replacements more often, on the principles that all persons in the 'kibbutz' shall be equally well dressed, not that they shall receive equal quantities of clothing each year.

4. Distribution of Other Articles

The above description of the distribution of clothing can be applied to any and every article used in the daily lives of the members of the 'kibbutz', whether it be shaving equipment, underwear, cigarettes, sanitary napkins or contraceptives. They are all issued from the communal store-room whenever a member needs them. It should be noted that an excessive demands for an article are questioned by the store-keeper.⁴

C. Income

The largest single source of income of the 'kibbutz' is agriculture. There is often subsidiary income from the

4. Samuel, E. Handbook op. cit. pp. 19-20

'kibbutz' workshops for carpentry, cobbling, smithing and so forth, and from factories. In some 'kibbutzim', there is further income from hired work outside the settlement. The income from capital investments in the value of work carried out by members of the 'kibbutz' in constructing new roads, buildings and other projects for the 'kibbutz' are considered as income. In this, they act as their own contractors, and the wages paid to their members return to the common purse as income. The proportions of income from each source vary in different 'kibbutzim'. In the smaller 'kibbutzim' the proportion of income from agriculture is much higher than in the larger 'kibbutzim' of the 'Hakibbutz Hameuchad' or in the newly established settlements which have to maintain themselves largely from external work, their workshops and hired work outside until their agriculture begins to pay.

The proportion of income from different branches of economic activity may be seen in the following figures for all the 'kibbutzim' in 1940-1, the last year for which figures are available:

Table 6		
Proportions of Income from the Different Branches of Economic Activity 1940-1941		% of total
Total		100
Agriculture		43
Workshops		14
Hired work		22
Capital Investments		6
Other Sources		15

Source: Statistical Department of the Jewish Agency, quoted from Edwin Samuel, "Handbook of the Jewish Villages in Palestine 2nd ed. (Jerusalem, 1945) p. 29.

The proportion of income from agriculture in the 'kibbutzim' founded before 1936 is somewhat higher. In more recent years, these older communal settlements have greatly increased their incomes. It is interesting to note that despite these increased incomes not much has been done to raise the standard of living, to any great extent, or even to provide additional improvements in the enterprise, of which there could be many. Instead, these additional incomes are used to settle new immigrants in the existing 'kibbutzim' or loaned to new settlements.⁵

5. Hartog, Anna op. cit. pp. 27-30
Samuel, E. op. cit. p. 29.

CHAPTER VIII

Other Activities

A. Communications

Every settlement, no matter in what phase of existence, must have certain functions operating in the settlement in order to provide coordination and smooth operation of the community. The very first necessity of a group venturing out into the desert or other remote locales for the purpose of establishing a new colony is the maintenance of some type of communication system. In Palestine, the maintenance of direct wire connections of the type where wires are strung on poles is extremely undependable because of the frequent attacks by Arab bands on the new settlements, especially on their only source of contact with the established cities and colonies. To provide newly established colonies with a safer type of communication, the 'Yishuv' (the Jewish community), has developed and instituted a comprehensive plan of underground wires which provide for telephone, or similar forms of communication, almost everywhere in the country. To be sure, this system is not entirely invulnerable from interruption by Arab attacks. New settlements that do not, for any reason whatsoever, have wireless or a similar communication system, adopt a temporary semaphoric system employing mirrors or other signals. However, once a 'kibbutz' or other settlement does become firmly rooted on the land, provisions are made for the installation of a telephone in the central place which

connects the settlement to a large city or a central organization.

The larger 'kibbutzim', after they have become permanent and have expanded to the size of a small town, have a telephone system comparable to that in any large city or community in Palestine provided by the central telephone company in Palestine.¹

B. Power

Closely allied with the telephone a necessity for the existence and development of a 'kibbutz' is power. In the Palestinian communal settlements, each of the smaller and newer ones have their own generators which provide electricity for the essential machinery, such as the radio and wireless, or for the children's houses. The larger 'kibbutzim', though, have electricity in all their buildings and factories. The Palestine Electric Corporation supplies this power. While most factories are supplied with electric power, there are some which find it more economical to operate on water power, especially those that are located near moving bodies of water, for example, near the Jordan River. However, the number of factories in the latter group is very small.

C. Distribution and Marketing of Products

A necessary function, economically, for any type of enterprise, whether it be capitalistic, communistic or socialistic, is the distribution and marketing of the products

1. This information was the result of an interview with Mr. Itzhak J. Karpman, a Palestinian economist.

it creates. The function of marketing, both for the 'kibbutzim' and the 'moshavei-ovdim' is invariably performed through 'Tnuva' ("Harvest"), a general wholesale cooperative under the auspices of the 'Histadrut' and managed by members recruited from the different 'kibbutzim' and 'moshavei-ovdim'. The comparatively small size of Palestine and the development of the railroad system and road communications enable the produce of all the 'kibbutzim' and 'moshavei-ovdim' to be marketed in the urban centers without being subject to spoilage. The produce of the 'kibbutzim' is largely marketed in the towns, and the manufactured goods are sold throughout the country and for export. The proceeds thus acquired are used to purchase clothing and food that are required by the 'kibbutzim', but not produced locally, and equipment and supplies, which are purchased through 'Hamashbir Hamerkazi' ("The Central Supplier"), a 'Histadrut' instrumentality.

D. Financial Activities

In the 'kibbutz', the members have no pocket-money or savings. The communal settlements do not encourage, and almost entirely strictly forbid, the possession by their members of any money, even if that money comes from outside sources.² It logically follows that banks do not exist in the 'kibbutzim'.

There are certain monetary or financial activities conducted by the 'kibbutzim' as economic units. Without

2. Revusky, A. Jews in Palestine op. cit. p. 153.

finances, the 'kibbutzim' could neither begin nor be maintained or developed.

1. Rent to the Jewish National Fund

In almost all cases, the land on which the settlements are erected is leased from the Jewish National Fund for a period of forty-nine years. Starting the fifth year after the establishment of the village, rent is paid at the rate of two percent of the total cost of the land plus improvements. In cases where the rent would cause undue hardship on the settlement, postponement is granted. Eighty-nine 'kibbutzim' were paying rent in the year 1943-1944.³ Thus, rent forms one of the more important monetary relationships of the 'kibbutzim'.

2. Repayment of Borrowed Capital

Capital is needed to found a 'kibbutz' and to enable it to operate. The capital cost of establishing the first 'kibbutzim' after the First World War was almost entirely met by long term loans, granted to them by the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod). These loans ranged from ten years (in the newer 'kibbutzim') to fifty years (in the older 'kibbutzim') at a rate of interest of two per cent. The newer 'kibbutzim' have been established partly by the by the 'Keren Hayesod'; partly by the investments of the Central Bureau of the Jewish Agency for the settlement of German Jews, by the Palestine Agricultural Association, by the 'Nir' ("Furrows") Co.,

3. Samuel, Handbook, op, cit. p. 37.

another 'Histadrut' instrumentality, and by water companies; and partly by long term bank loans, together with investments and reinvestments by the 'kibbutzim' themselves. Each of the main federations has taxed the surplus income of its own 'kibbutzim' and has borrowed further funds to finance the establishment of additional 'kibbutzim' for its own federation.⁴ The extent of this practice is shown in the following table:

Table 7

Details of the Funds of the Major Federations for Extending Loans

	Date Federation Founded	Own Capital at end of 1941. LP.	Loans granted until end of 1941 LP
Keren Hakibbutz Hameuchad	1934	40,000	103,000 LP
Keren Hashomer Hatzair	1935	25,000	34,000
Keren Hakvutzot	1935	6,000	5,200

Figures largely from "Jewish Labour Economy in Palestine" by Dr. G. Muenzner, 1943.

The 'kibbutzim', recognizing their duty to repay these loans and also reflecting their desire for independence, contracted with the Jewish Agency to repay the capital invested in them by the Keren Hayesod. These provide for repayment of the initial loans over a period of ten to fifty years, starting with the year following that in which the original investment is made in full. The annual payment is from four percent and upwards of the original loan. The earliest year of repayment was 1937.

Considerable losses were sustained by the earlier settlements partly because these were largely experimental,

4. Samuel, Handbook, pp. cit. p. 39.

the lack of experience of the settlers and the engineers and architects in the particular problems of Palestine, and partly to the necessity of buying equipment after the First World War at highly inflated prices which depleted available funds and thereby forcing them to borrow at high interest rates. In recognition of these facts, the investing organizations, mainly Keren Hayesod, wrote off a portion of the capital invested. In 1941, the Keren Hayesod had written off a total of LP 273,213.⁵

The number of 'kibbutzim' each year repaying the capital invested in them by the Keren Hayesod and the total amount repaid are shown in the subsequent table:

Table 8

Repayments by 'kibbutzim' to the Keren Hayesod

Year	Number of Kibbutzim repaying	Total amount repaid during year LP
1936-7	19	2,562
1937-8	19	3,040
1938-9	32	2,635
1939-40	22	1,920
1940-41	18	2,357
1941-2	26	7,534
1942-3	41	21,306

Figures supplied by Keren Hayesod.

Some of the wealthier 'kibbutzim' are now repaying their debts to the Keren Hayesod in advance, on the understanding that this money will be used for the establishment of new 'kibbutzim'.⁶

5. Muenzner and Kahn, op. cit. p. 9.

6. Samuel, Handbook, op. cit. pp. 39-40.

3. Other Financial Activity

It is estimated that by the middle of 1942 the total investments of the Jewish communal settlements amounted to LP 4,000,000, not including the value of the Jewish National Fund Land and the amounts written off by the Keren Hayesod. In 1940, the total investment in all communal settlements (127 'kvutzot', 'kibbutzim' and 'plugot avoda') amounted to LP 2,834,441, as shown in table 9:

Table 9

Assets and Liabilities of the 127 Communal Settlements as of
September 30, 1940

Assets

Cash on hand and with banks	LP.	21,423
Shares in 'Tnuva' and other institutions		83,799
Various debtors		165,547
Movable property (including livestock and machinery)		262,283
Immovable property		845,817
Plantation, irrigation, etc.		660,760
Stock and tree nurseries		543,840
Preparation of soil and advance payment		164,797
Consumption		85,775
		<hr/> 2,834,441

Liabilities

Capital and reserves	LP.	290,040
Loans		2,114,361
Creditors and bills		430,040
		<hr/> 2,834,441

Source: Adapted from muenzner and Rahn, op. cit., p. 19 and p. 33, quoted from Hartog, A. "The Jewish Communal Settlements in Palestine" (New York, 1945, p. 28.

The most interesting item in this balance sheet is the item "Shares in 'Tnuva' and other institutions". It shows that the communal settlements are obliged to invest a

portion of their funds in central cooperative societies, such as 'Tnuva', 'Hamashbir', the Workers' Bank, and others. This investment in cooperative enterprises whose commercial activities serve the communal settlements is sound, for they have been able to accumulate large reserves.⁷ National, semi-national, (Keren Hayesod, Jewish National Fund, the Jewish Agency, and the Palestine Agricultural Association) and public institutions (PICA, water companies, 'Nir', Workers' Bank, Anglo-Palestine Bank and others) account for 66.9 per cent of the loans. About 13 per cent are granted by other funds, friends and relatives on reasonable terms, and the remainder are loans from private sources at a higher rate of interest. Over half of the loans, mainly those from the Zionist organizations, are on a long term basis.⁸

Whereas, the profit and loss statement might have more logically been included elsewhere, it has been reserved for this section on financial activities.

7. Muenzner and Kahn, op. cit., pp. 18-20.

8. Ibid. pp. 26-31. Discussion of the Capital Account has been reserved for the Summary.

Table 10

Income and Expenditure of the 127 Communal Settlements Sept. 30,
1939 - Sept. 30, 1940

Income

Farm Income	LP. 790,387
Workshops	327,477
Outside Work	358,990
Investments	68,330
Other Sources	3,817
	<hr/> 1,549,001

Expenditures

Man labor	LP. 551,874
Workshops, outside work and sundries	172,178
Machinery and draft animals	119,502
Various branches of agriculture	332,393
Packing and transport	57,226
General Expenses	37,487
Amortization	136,524
Interest	83,738
Profit	58,079
	<hr/> 1,549,001

Source: Adapted from Muenzner and Kahn, op. cit., p. 32,
quoted from Hartog, op. cit., p. 29.

This account substantiates previous statements that the largest proportion of the income is derived from agriculture. The charges for depreciation, amortization vary from 2.6% on farm buildings to 23 per cent on machinery and furnishings. While the amortization has tended to be radical, and is a financially sound measure of caution, it has resulted in high prices of 'kibbutz' products.⁹ Consideration of the profitability of the 'kibbutzim' will be reserved for the summary.

From the preceding discussion, it becomes evident that all the economic activities of the capitalist society are found in the 'kibbutzim'. The 'kibbutz' performs capitalistic

9. Ibid p. 20

functions, though, only in its relationships outside its own internal structure, with the capitalist society.

CHAPTER IX

Education and Religion

A. Education

1. The Period of Education

An important part of the upbuilding and development of Palestine is the education of its inhabitants, both young and old. Since the future of the 'kibbutz' is dependant upon the youth, full measures are taken to inculcate the principles and practices of communal life into the children from the earliest years. The entire educational program is developed on this underlying thought.

All the children are given education between the ages of three and sixteen, and in some 'kibbutzim', to seventeen or eighteen years of age. The schooling starts in the children's houses where there is the kindergarten which includes all children up to the age of five. The 'kibbutz' kindergarten is similar to that found in any other progressive country with the addition of communal spirit being expressed in the sharing of all toys and all children being dressed and cared for equally well. From six years on they are in the 'kibbutz' elementary school. Another form of communal living is practiced in the rotation of the children in performing certain duties around the children's houses. They have their own committees which are responsible for the feeding of pets, taking care of their library, playroom and so forth, and practice the methods of democratic control.

At seven, the children usually begin to learn agriculture in the farm attached to the school for that purpose. They grow some of their own food. By the time they are thirteen, they spend a quarter of each day on the collective farm, increasing this period gradually until, at the age of sixteen, they are allowed to do a full day's agricultural work.

2. The Program

The program of education aims at a balance between study and work, between the attainment of knowledge and the practical application of such knowledge. There is little formal teaching, and the "project" method, whereby related subjects are introduced in units, is generally used. The children are taught to develop skill in manual work, and it is hoped that they will love labor and realize its importance.

The members and the teachers in the 'kibbutzim' are well aware of the fact that the ultimate success of the 'kibbutz' will largely depend on the second and third generations. Every effort is made to prevent the possibility of the younger generations from not developing the closest attachment to manual labor, rural life and communal living. However, the democratic principles governing life in the 'kibbutz' allows for the youth who leave school to go to the city to work for one year as factory or office wage earners and youth group leaders, if work permits. During this period, these youths are able to make up their minds whether they wish to return to the

'kibbutz' and all it implies or not. The great majority return.^{1.}

3. Supervision

The schools in all 'kibbutzim' (other than those affiliated with 'Hapoel Hamizrachi') are under the supervision of the Education Committee of the General Federation of Jewish Labor. In some 'kibbutzim', such as Degania, there are central schools which serve a number of surrounding 'kibbutzim'; or higher schools, such as at 'Mishmar Haemek,^{2.} which serve all the 'kibbutzim' in the same federation. Some schools take in a number of children from the towns against payment of school fees. In the field of education of the youth, the 'kibbutzim' belonging to Hashomer Hatzair are playing a most prominent part.

Most of the expenses of the 'kibbutz' school is provided for from the budget of the 'kibbutz'. The Palestine Government makes a small block grant to the General Council (Va'ad Leumi') of the Jewish Community for all Jewish public schools in Palestine. Through the Education Committee, the communal settlements obtain a share of this small grant.

4. Teachers

It is obvious that the role of the teacher in the 'kibbutz' is of the greatest importance and that suitable teachers, consequently, are essential. The communal settle-

1. Samuel, Handbook, op. cit. pp. 16-18

2. Samuel, Hon. Edwin, "The Children's Community of the Hashomer Hatzair at Mishmar Haemek (Mishmar Haemek, 1944)

ments, recognizing that full cooperation^{and} confidence between the educators and its members, are prerequisites for successful education of the children, prefer the teachers to be drawn from their own membership. This, however, has not always been possible. There has been a fear by 'kibbutz' members to employ teachers from outside because such instructors would not understand the prevailing spirit of collectivism in the 'kibbutz'. Most of these outside teachers are products of educational training of the old type, and might find it difficult to adjust themselves completely to the progressive methods that the 'kibbutz' requires. Another problem is that of finding a teacher with a sufficient knowledge of Hebrew, which is the official language of instruction, and who can interpret the Bible and give the Hebrew names of plants. One broad step in the amelioration of these problems is the special training school in Tel Aviv for 'kibbutz' kindergarten and school teachers.³ For these reasons, the communal settlements have not relied on school alone for the education of the children. They believe that the entire community should participate in this task, that there should be much contact with the children, and that the adults should set the example in everything they teach them.

5. Adult Education

The adult community in the 'kibbutz' by no means live in cultural isolation. They all make much use of their library,

3. Samuel, Handbook, op. cit. pp. 16-18.

which each settlement has. Each 'kibbutz' subscribes to a number of periodicals and newspapers. Most settlements have their own weekly or monthly paper, which is mimeographed or printed. The Cultural Committee of the General Federation of Jewish Labor organizes lectures on a great variety of subjects in all the villages. The Hebrew University organizes some University extension lectures, and the British Council assists 'kibbutz' members who teach English. Frequent tours of the larger communal settlements are conducted by theatre groups, orchestras, and musicians. Each 'kibbutz' usually has discussion groups which acquaint themembers with their neighbors, the Arabs, and how to maintain and promote friendly relations. These discussions, in addition, cover a wide range of topics.⁴

B. Religion

Religion, however, is considered a personal choice in all except the orthodox 'kibbutzim'. In most settlements, there are special tables for those who strictly follow the Jewish dietary laws. Within the last ten years, religious 'kibbutzim' have developed in which observance of dietary laws is a matter of course and study of the Law and religious practices form an integral part of the daily program. In almost all settlements, only the most necessary work is done on Saturdays and holidays. The communal settlements, aware of a certain barrenness in their communal life, have gradually come to realize that they were orphaning their children

4. Hartog, A. op. cit. pp. 14-17.

spiritually, culturally and traditionally, and therefore

.....that they must create a link between past Jewish history and the present. Therefore, all holidays whose ritual and implication were deeply rooted in the life of the Jewish nation when it formerly lived in Palestine began to be revived and were clad with contemporary meaning.....The Sabbath has recovered its original significance as a laborer's day of rest.....The kvutzot are far from being able to boast of overwhelming success as far as the re-evaluation of the old traditional celebrations are concerned, but a very conscious effort is being made.^{5.}

5. Wurm, Shalom. The Kvutza. (New York, 1942) p. 68.

CHAPTER X

Problems

The 'kibbutzim', similar to any type of a new undertaking, have had to face what, at the time of their appearance, seemed to be serious problems, but, as experience has shown, their threat to the existence of the 'kibbutz' was short-lived and without serious effect. Nevertheless, each of the problems demanded a solution by the 'kibbutz'. In the following paragraphs, a few of the problems that have appeared and the applied solutions will be reviewed.

A. High versus Low Earning Power

When the 'kibbutz' adopted the practice of some of its members working for wages outside the 'kibbutz', a new problem that was entirely unknown to the existing 'kvutzot' and 'kibbutzim' developed. An inequality existed in the wages outside the 'kibbutz' as compared to the equal distribution within. Naturally, members employed in private enterprises did not earn equal amounts of money. The 'kibbutz' requires every one of its members to contribute the full amount of his earnings to the common treasury, and denies to the one who is better paid any greater share in the distribution of food, clothing, spending money, or better living conditions than that of the lowest paid member of the community. As a rule, the idealistic spirit of the members of the 'kibbutz' and their inner discipline has not allowed this problem to become a serious one. However, the percentage of highly skilled workers in the

'kibbutzim' is lower than on the outside. The highest paid urban worker does not, as a rule, enter a 'kibbutz'; he usually finds other ways of realizing his dream of ultimate settlement on the land. If, however, he does enter, he is well aware from the beginning of the principles and ideologies of that organization and is ready to submit to them. He, therefore, does not demand any advantages or privileges based on his higher earning power.

B. Help to Relatives

Closely associated with this problem arising out of unequal earnings is this second one that arose from the same cause. There were members of the 'kibbutz' who were earning more than average. These persons argued that they should be entitled to make a deduction every month from their wages before giving it to the common treasury, for the purpose of sending it to their relatives in Europe. Their argument was based on the fact that, after all, they were contributing larger shares of money. The leaders of the 'kibbutzim' recognized the problem, and the purpose as justifiable. They convened and decided upon the necessity for such aid to distressed relatives, but that it would not justify a deduction from the wages of those higher paid than average. The relatives of the lower paid members were in need of help, too. Therefore, they established the "Help to Relatives" committee. This committee was given a certain part of the budget each year to distribute to needy relatives of members. Allocation of funds were

determined on the basis of letters received by the members from their distressed families in Europe. During the war, these funds were given to the central agencies which cared for the distressed Jews of Europe.^{1.}

1. Revusky, Jews in Palestine, op. cit. pp. 148-150.

PART III

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER XI

Summary and Outlook

It is necessary, before any attempt to predict the future of the 'kibbutz' movement is made, to briefly review the development and the reasons for the current popularity and success of the 'kibbutzim'.

It has been shown that the 'kibbutz' was adopted by the Zionist Organization because it avoided the mistakes made by the settlements founded by Baron de Rothschild. As developed by Arthur Ruppin, the collective form of living was a transitional training period for the individual worker between his status as a hired laborer and that of a private farmer. The development of the 'kibbutz' as a permanent colonization farm came unexpectedly from Franz Oppenheimer. He saw the great advantage in a large farm unit over a small unit. Also, that this collectivist scheme was the best for development of unskilled Jewish farm labor. Collective farms would give Palestine the advantages of the large scientifically managed farm while avoiding the disadvantages of small farming; would lower expenses of colonization per capita; create real attachment of the workers to the soil and the farm. With this impetus to the movement supplied by Oppenheimer, further support was added by the stream of idealistic 'chalutzim' who visualized a better social order in Palestine and established the permanency of the 'kibbutz' movement. Support was added by the 'chalutzim' of the Third Aliya (after World War I) who

found it to their advantage in completing the strenuous work of establishing new settlements and colonies and that it completed their pattern of social and political thinking to adopt the 'kibbutz' or collective form of living. After this period, the 'kibbutz' movement developed rapidly. One sentence can summarize the reason for the development of the 'kibbutz' movement. Expressed in the words of Arthur Ruppin, "It was not a question between collective and individual settlement; it was a question of group settlement or nothing at all."¹

In 1928, a group of distinguished experts and scientists sent out by the Zionist Organization to investigate that body's agricultural settlement schemes in Palestine included the following point in the summary of major conclusions of their report:

The permanent success of colonies organized on the communistic basis is doubtful. The Commission advises the postponement of further large sums of money in building houses and barns in accordance with plans adopted in existing communistic colonies. Plans for these improvements should be so modified as to make the buildings suitable for use by the cultivators of individual farms if and when the character of the communistic colonies is changed.²

Elsewhere in the report suggestions were made that in the expected struggle between the 'moshav' and 'kvutza', "....

There can be no doubt that the moshav must win...." and also

1. The Agricultural Colonization of the Zionist Organization in Palestine, p. 136.
2. Report of the Experts Submitted to the Joint Palestine Survey Commission (Boston, 1928) pp. 40-41.

advised the Jewish agencies and organizations "...to take a formal decision that no more 'kvutzoth' should be established."³

It has now been definitely proven that these experts and many others like them were completely mistaken. Their skeptical attitudes have been widely reputed by the astonishing success of both the 'kibbutzim' and the 'moshavei ovdim' and further, as Edwin Samuel stated, that, "the 'kibbutzim' are the most progressive and prosperous of all the communal type of settlements in Palestine today,"⁴. Many testimonials have been written for the 'kvutzot' and 'kibbutzim', among which the following by Joseph Eaton is typical:

.....in terms of their economic, cultural, educational and social achievements they probably are, relatively speaking, the most successful group farms anywhere. They are most stable and their institutions are the most democratic. Their members have great prestige in the Palestinian society because of their high degree of social idealism and the economic success of their enterprises under circumstances in which private enterprise has not succeeded.⁵

The next logical step is a discussion of the reasons for the success of the 'kibbutz'. In analyzing these reasons, it should be carefully borne in mind that, from the beginning, it was not only economic motivations but also clearly calculated actions and ideas projected into the historical future of the 'Yishuv' that guided the successful development of the 'kibbutz'

3. Ibid. p. 445.

4. The Communal Villages op. cit.

5. "Exploring Tomorrow's Agriculture: Co-operative Group Farming-a Practical Program for Rural Rehabilitation (New York, 1943), p. 244.

movement.)

The primary reason for the success is Zionism -- Jewish nationalism and the desire to return to Palestine. This provides an ideal for which individual workers are prepared willingly to undergo considerable hardship. It releases energies untapped abroad and appeals to racial pride. What is difficult in collective farming for the disillusioned unemployed of South Wales, for example, becomes easy for men and women in Palestine imbued with this patriotic fervor. Then, there is the urge for manual labor. For many decades, Jews have tried to return to manual labor as a means of self-regeneration. This movement found its highest expression in the life and works of A. D. Gordon who synthesized the views of Tolstoy, that man can only develop his personality through physical labor, and Rousseau, the recuperative effect of nature and the out-door world, and infused them with an almost mystical fervor drawn from Jewish 'Hassidic' sources. The influence of his writings on the Jewish immigrants in Palestine is shown by the present stage of development in the country.⁶ This was supplemented by the "back to the land" movement. Many Jews now for the first time have been able to satisfy their desire to abandon precarious urban life for primary production in agriculture. In Palestine, this movement was strengthened by a desire to "redeem" the land with which, as Jews, they were historically connected; and by a conviction

6. Samuel, "Handbook", op. cit. p. 47

that ownership and occupation of the land is the true basis for a healthy national life. The "back to the land" movement was more successful in Palestine than in the United States or Europe because there were no large cities, twenty-five years ago, to exercise a powerful pull on farm labor.

Socialism was another dynamic force behind the success of the 'kibbutzim'. The first communal settlements, 'Meerhaviah' and 'Dagania' were founded on a reaction against the settlement on large areas, of Jewish farmers employing cheap Arab labor. These new villages were intended to create the beginnings of an independent Jewish farming and labor class. The desire for social equality and brotherhood, which is strongly emphasized in Jewish religious thought and given further importance by the powerful socialist group in Palestine, has permeated many branches of Jewish economic activity in Palestine. The 'kibbutzim' are not socialist oases in a wilderness of economic and social individualism. They play an important role in the life of the 'Yishuv'. The members themselves are united by the strongest personal bonds. The 'kibbutzim' in their turn are grouped into federations with central organizations. These federations, in turn, are supported by a whole series of Jewish financial and technical agencies and institutions which foster the growth of new 'kibbutzim'.

The 'kibbutzim' fitted the type of settlement that was needed to absorb into the life of the country the large

number of immigrants who come to the shores of Palestine. The 'kibbutz' allowed for their absorption without displacing individuals or groups. It satisfied them psychologically, provided them a means of beginning life anew despite the fact that they were penniless and inexperienced in farming. They readily accepted the instruction and cooperative life of the 'kibbutz'.

The 'kibbutzim' have some practical advantages over other types of settlements. The 'kibbutz' enables farming to be mechanized, the cost of production lowered and drudgery reduced. Large units engaged in mixed farming can dispense with additional hired labor during harvesting. It allows for division of labor and the specialization of members in different branches which results in a large degree of efficiency and high agricultural yields. The 'kibbutz', with a highly centralized administration, is better fitted than a collection of individualist farmers to cope with external problems such as malaria, plant disease and defense. The members of the 'kibbutz' find in it not only a substitute for family life, but also a mutual insurance against unemployment and ill-health. Lastly, the 'kibbutz' has shorter working hours than the 'moshav-ovdim' and provides a higher level of cultural amenity than is available in most rural areas in Palestine.⁷.

The social factors were treated first because they played a much more important role in the success of the 'kibbutz' movement than did the economic factors. Because of the rela-

7. Samuel. Ibid, pp. 47-49.

tively short existance of the large part of the 'kibbutzim' (see Appendix A) and the abnormal conditions under which the vast majority had their initial growth and success a comprehensive and accurate evaluation is difficult and rather useless in analyzing the past and predicting the future of the 'kibbutz' movement. The more important economic factors are, nevertheless, worthy of identification and comment.

Have the 'kibbutzim'⁸ been financially profitable? It has been said that the success and continued existance of the communal settlements would have been dubious had it not been for the financial assistance afforded them by the Zionist institutions during the initial periods of experimentation and expansion, which were marked by a definite lack of economic success. At present, however, the great majority of 'kibbutzim' and 'kvutzot' are conducted on a self-sustaining basis and most of them have shown substantial operating profits since 1935.⁹ This statement may appear contrary to the facts which show combined losses in 1937 and 1938. It must be remembered that these figures include not only the 'kibbutzim' and 'kvutzot' established on a firm basis, but also the established 'plugot avoda' and 'kibbutzim' in the developmental stages which sustained most of the losses. Since 1939, increasing profits have been made. These were the result of falling imports and

8. Also includes 'kvutzot'.

9. Hazen, N. W., "Agriculture in Palestine and the Development of Jewish Colonization", Foreign Agriculture, Vol. 1, March, 1937, p. 138.

increased demands from military requirements, along with the inflationary prices of World War II and the increased industrialization of the settlements. All these factors render any conclusion as to the financial position and future of the 'kibbutzim' premature.

The lack of statistics and more recent financial statements of the successful 'kibbutzim' does not allow for an appraisal of the rate of capital accumulation of the 'kibbutzim' or the role that their own capital plays in the development and success of the 'kibbutzim' and the 'kibbutz' movement. However, economically, such information is significant.

Is the 'kibbutz' in Palestine merely a transitional form, a stage in Jewish colonization, or is it an integral function of Jewish Palestine progressing with the growth and development of the 'Yishuv'? Why has the 'kibbutz' form been actively accepted and supported by all Zionist groups, including those who have no special ideological interest in collectivist schemes? Why has the bitter experience of the utopian communities in the United States during last century not been repeated in Palestine?

Answering the last two questions first, all Zionist groups have accepted the 'kibbutz' as an objectively necessary form for the development of the Jewish farming and labor class,¹⁰.

10. Furmansky, M. "The Future of the Kibbutz", Youth and Nation, Vol. 11, June, 1943, pp. 30.

and the 'kibbutz' was never a utopian scheme. It sprang forth from the urgent needs of the settlers, those thousands of young Jewish men and women, who, unable to forget the long series of persecutions and discrimination to which their people and they themselves had been exposed for centuries, came from all corners of the earth to rebuild the Holy Land with their own labor as the home of the Jewish people and to set an example of society based on justice for all.¹¹

There are many characteristics of the 'kibbutz' that make it obvious that it is a functional part of Palestine. The influence of the 'kibbutzim' and the results of their activities go far beyond their organizational scope. Besides those influences described elsewhere the development of new industries breaks the traditional barriers between city, village and country. As evidence of its integration in the Jewish community, the 'kibbutz' has constantly accepted and is accepting new tasks without giving up the previous ones. Members of the 'kibbutzim', as representatives of their settlements, were among the first to volunteer to aid in Youth Aliya, enlist in the 'Hagannah' and the British army. The 'kibbutz' has shown a remarkable degree of flexibility. As the 'kibbutz' was an important factor in shaping the objective situation in Palestine, the objective situation in Palestine has forced great changes in the 'kibbutz' which had to adjust itself to these rapidly changing circumstances and influences in the panorama

11. Hartog, op. cit. p. 34.

of Jewish needs. In this test, the 'kibbutz' has proven itself honorably.

The 'kibbutz' further displayed itself as a functional part of the 'Yishuv' as far back as the early 1930's when it proved to be the best absorption factor in this new Aliya. During the dangerous period from 1936 to 1939 (Arab riots), the 'kibbutz' movement was THE most important factor in the expansion of the 'Yishuv'. Not one settlement was abandoned during these years. Another example of survival is the way in which the communal settlements, through mixed farming, averted a famine in the country in the early days of the Second World War; and adapted themselves admirably to the increased demands and a simultaneous labor shortage to produce a host of achievements in scientific planning and expansion of agriculture and establishing new industries.

Its place is so secured today in the life of the Jewish community in Palestine that no future development can be visualized without it.

At present and in the immediate future, its most important role is absorption of mass immigration in Palestine. The 'kibbutz' will become more entrenched by the needs arising out of this mass 'aliya'. The future immigrant has little, if any, means and skill and is in dire need of social and psychological rehabilitation. His absorption will require organization and a form of planned economy that result in the great schemes of housing, irrigation projects, building projects and

other developments in post-war Palestine. The 'kibbutzim' have made it clear that all their efforts are directed to benefiting the community with an eye to absorb more Jews who want to come there. Everyone, today, looks up to the 'kibbutz' as a healthy social form and an economically sound undertaking and as the guiding element in shaping and organizing the new mass 'aliya'.

There is no question that the 'kibbutz' form itself will change very much under the impact of this mass immigration. The size of the unit, the scope of undertaking, the form of mutual assistance between 'kibbutz' units will undergo radical changes. It is only natural for a living organism to remain alive and active to adjust itself to the time and the needs.

The 'kibbutz' movement which was once looked down upon as unnecessary, a waste of time, money and energy, has not only proved its ground, but it is the guiding factor, by its experience and its strong position, in developing the strong, healthy future Jewish community in Palestine.¹².

The goal of the Jewish people is permanently established and international recognition of this realization is inevitable in the not too distant future. Allied with this is the future of the 'kibbutzim' and the 'Kibbutz' movement.

12. Furmansky, op. cit., pp. 30-35.

Also, the article, "On the Future of the 'Kibbutz'" by Jehuda Hanegbi in Palestine Information, Dec., 1946, pp. 20-22 and interviews with several Palestinians were used as a basis for the formulation of the conclusion.

GLOSSARY

Agudas Yisroel - "Society of Israel" - an ultra-religious organization.

Aliya - ascent, immigration. Plural 'aliyot'.

Chalutz - a Pioneer. Plural 'chalutzim'.

Chovevei Zion - "Lovers of Zion" - An organization founded by Dr. Leo Pinsker in 1882 for the purpose of aiding the Biluists and other pioneers.

Dunam - Area measurement, equal to 1000 square meters or roughly $\frac{1}{4}$ acre.

Eretz Israel - "Land of Israel" - Palestine.

Hagannah - the official Jewish defense organization in Palestine.

Halluka - Jews -- Jews supported by a dole system, funds of which, are from charitable contributions.

Hamashbir Hamerkazi - "The Central Supplier" - central purchasing cooperative of the agricultural labor movement.

Hapoel Hamizrachi - "The Eastern Worker" - an organization of religious, socialist youth.

Hashomer Hatzair - "The Young Watchman" - a socialist group of settlers.

Hassidism(-ic) - a mystic religious sect among the Jews.

Hechalutz - "The Pioneer" - an international organization (under the supervision of the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine) for training young Jewish pioneers for manual labor in Palestine.

Histadrut - "Organization" - the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine.

I.C.A. - Jewish Colonization Association founded by Baron De Hirsch.

Jewish Agency - the authority representing Zionists and other Jews in all matters affecting the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine.

Keren Hayesod - Palestine Foundation Fund, established in 1920, the central fund for financing the Jewish economy in Palestine.

Keren Kayemeth Leyisroel - Jewish National Fund, established in 1901, the central organization for purchasing and nationalization of the land in Palestine.

Kibbutz - A communal settlement. Plural 'kibbutzim'.

Kvutza - A small communal settlement. Plural 'kvutzot'.

LP - Palestine Pound, equal to the Pound Sterling.

Moshav-ovdim - A cooperative smallholders' village. Plural 'moshavei-ovdim'.

Nir - "Furrow" - financing institute for medium term agricultural credit established by the Histadrut to assist in colonization.

P.I.C.A. - The Palestine Jewish Colonization Association that replaced the I.C.A.

Plugat avoda - A Jewish communal group which has not yet been permanently settled on the land in Palestine. Plural 'plugot avoda'.

Tnuva - "Harvest" - the central agricultural marketing cooperative established by the Histadrut.

Torah - "Law", the Bible.

Vaad Leumi - the general council of the Jewish community in Palestine.

Yishuv - the Jewish community in Palestine.

Yovel - "Jubilee" - fiftieth year, when all property reverted back to its original owners.

Appendix A

Table 11

Development of Communal Settlements

Year	Number of Settlements	Population	Index of Increase 1927=100	
			Settlements	Population
1914	4	180	14	7
1918	12	404	44	15
1922	19	1,190	68	45
1927	28	2,620	100	100
1931	31	3,800	111	145
1936	47	11,840	168	451
1941	87	23,190	311	884
1944	111	33,500	396	1,277
*1945	116	37,400	411	1,427

Sources: Gertz, A. The Social Structure of Jewish Settlement
in Palestine. p. 58.

* Palestine Year Book. Zionist Organization of America, Vol.
2, 1945-46, p. 131.

Appendix B

The Constitution of the Jewish Communal Village

(Standard Rule under the Cooperative Societies Ordinance, 1933)

Section A. Name, Address, Object, Powers, and Affiliations

1. Name and Address:

The name of the Society shall be -----
and its registered office shall be at
-----.

2. Objects:

The General objects of the Society are to organize and promote the economic and social interests of its members in accordance with co-operative principles and in particular to:

- (a) Manage and develop a collective farm;
- (b) Undertake agricultural or other works outside the settlement whether by contract or on the basis of a fixed wage;
- (c) Organize various industries in the settlement;
- (d) Dispose of products of the settlement and purchase its requirements;
- (e) Maintain a common purse into which all the earnings of their members shall be paid and from which all their requirements shall be provided;
- (f) To assist members in raising their economic, cultural and social level by mutual aid, to care for their sick, to support the old and feeble and other persons dependent on deceased members and to maintain and educate the children of the members;
- (g) To insure in authorized insurance companies against accidents, deaths, illness, or other inflictions and to insure the properties of the settlement against

fire or other risks and to participate in mutual insurance societies;

- (h) To supply all the social, cultural and economic requirements in the settlement and to undertake all steps which may be deemed necessary for improving these conditions, and in particular to establish and maintain crèches, kindergatins, and schools for the education and bringing up of the children;
- (i) To establish and maintain in the settlement public institutions and services and generally undertake all activities which are customarily undertaken by village authorities.

3. Powers:

In pursuance of the foregoing objects, the Society shall have and exercise any of the following powers:

- (a) To acquire and hold in any manner movable and immovable property and rights or easement over such properties and to undertake all measures necessary for the establishment of a collective farm;
- (b) To cultivate and develop any properties so acquired and arrange for the marketing of products and the supply of requirements;
- (c) To undertake any kind of work outside the farm whether as contractors or as hired labourers;
- (d) To establish and maintain workshops and plants for the manufacture of members' requirements as well as for purposes of sale outside the farm and to build roads, sink wells, and erect and maintain farm buildings, stores, dwellings, children's crèches and other public buildings and generally engage in any undertaking which is conducive to the welfare of their members;

- (e) To borrow from members and non-members, banks and financial institutions for the purpose of its business and to mortgage its immovable property and charge its movable property as security for loans;
- (f) To execute, draw, accept, endorse, hand in for collection, discount and issue bills of exchange, promissory notes, cheques, bills of lading and bonds;
- (g) To join other cooperative societies having similar objects whether for any special purpose or for complete amalgamation in accordance with provision of the Law;
- (h) To enter into agreements with the authorities and obtain licences, privileges and concessions which the Society may deem of benefit for its objects, and to use such rights in accordance with its Rules;
- (i) Subject to the approval of the General Meeting to participate in any economic, financial and commercial undertaking which may benefit the Society;
- (j) To undertake any other business which the General Meeting may decide is conducive to the welfare of the members;
- (k) And generally to do all the things necessary for the fullfilment of the objects of the Society.

4. Affiliations (If Any)

The Society is affiliated to -----.

Section B. Conditions Applying to Membership

1. Qualifications for Membership:

- (a) The members shall consist of:

- (1) The persons who join in the application for registration;

- (2) Such other persons as may from time to time be admitted to membership in accordance with these Rules;
- (b) Every member of the Society shall:--
 - (1) be ordinary resident in-----
 - (2) be of good character
 - (3) have completed his 18th year
 - (4) not be a member of another Kvutza or, if formerly a member of another Kvutza, under no financial obligation to such Kvutza

2. Application for Membership:

- (a) Every applicant for admission to membership of the Society including those persons who sign the application for registration shall submit to the Society an undertaking in writing in the following form, or as near to this form as may be convenient:---

"I-----resident at -----
 being----- (state profession) and
 having been born on -----, hereby
 apply to be admitted as a member of
 ----- Co-operative Society, and
 I undertake, if elected to membership,
 to comply with the Rules of the
 Society, the decisions and orders of
 the General Meeting, of the Committee
 of Management and of the properly
 authorized officers of the Society
 and admit my liability to all obligations
 and conditions as are described
 in the said Rules. I moreover agree
 that the entries in the books of the
 Society shall be binding upon me in
 respect of any matter relating to my
 indebtedness to or my claims from the
 Society."

- (b) Every applicant for admission may also be required to sign an undertaking

his relations to the Society and his conduct in the form to be prescribed in an appendix to these rules.

3. Admission of Members:

- (a) The application shall be placed before a meeting of the Committee of Management who by majority of votes of the members present may admit the applicant or reject any application without assigning any reason therefor;
- (b) No decision of the Committee of Management to admit a member shall be valid unless confirmed by a General Meeting by a majority of $2/3$ of the members at such meeting;
- (c) The Committee of Management may require the applicant to serve a period of probation not exceeding one year;
- (d) An applicant whose application has been rejected by the Committee of Management may appeal to the next General Meeting of members when a vote shall be taken by ballot and, if not less than $2/3$ of the members present vote in favour of the admission of the applicant, he shall be admitted forthwith;
- (e) The provision of (a), (b), (c) above shall not apply to those persons who sign the application for registration.

4. Financial Obligations of Members:

The financial obligations of members are set out in Section C of these Rules. No member shall be entitled to exercise his rights of membership unless he has paid all amounts due from him to the Society on account of fees, contributions to the capital of the Society or the contributions.

5. Nominees of Members:

Members may appoint nominees as provided in Section 31 of the Co-operative Societies Ordinance, 1933, and in the Cooperative

Societies Regulations, 1934, Regulation 8.

6. Termination of Membership:

Membership shall be terminated by:--

- (a) Death;
- (b) Ceasing to reside in -----;
- (c) Withdrawal after giving ----- notice in writing to the Committee subject to the conditions in Section D below;
- (d) Permanent insanity;
- (e) Expulsion;
provided that the provision of Sections 32 and 33 of the Co-operative Societies Ordinance, 1933, shall apply.

7. Expulsion of Members:

A member may be expelled by a 2/3 vote of the membership at a General Meeting, the agenda of which includes a motion for expulsion, for the following reasons:

- (a) Conviction of a criminal offence involving dishonesty;
- (b) If he shall not have fulfilled his obligations to the Society and persistently refuses or neglects to obey the Rules and the decisions of the General Meeting and orders and decisions of the Committee of Management or of the duly authorized officers of the Society;
- (c) Any action which may be held to be dishonest or prejudicial to the subjects of the Society or to the interests of cooperation, provided that:
 - (1) The member shall be informed in writing by the Committee of Management of the charge brought under this rule against him not less than 30 days before the General Meeting to be convened to

consider the charge;

- (2) Any reply of the member shall be laid before the General Meeting;
- (3) If within 15 days of the communication to the member of the charges, he denies the charges and applies for a formal enquiry, a Commission of Enquiry consisting of 3 members appointed as follows, shall hold an enquiry: one member appointed by the Committee of Management, one by the member charged and the 3rd nominated by 2 members. In the event that 2 members are unable to agree on the nomination of the 3rd member, the nomination shall be made by the central body to which the Society is affiliated, or in the absence of such affiliation by the Registrar of Cooperative Societies;
- (4) The finding of the Commission of Enquiry shall be laid before the General Meeting which shall take such action as they may consider desirable.

Section C. Financial Provisions

1. Capital:

The Society has no capital.

2. Liability of Members:

Every member shall be liable for the debts of the Society to the extent of----- and in the case of liquidation the expenses of liquidation shall be included in the debts of the Society,

3. Redemption of Members' Interest:

A person, whose membership has been terminated, shall not be entitled to receive from the Society any payment in respect of his interest in the funds, or assets of the Society except as provided in Section D of these Rules.

4. Financial Year:

The financial year of the Society shall be from -----.

5. Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss Account:

The balance sheet and profit and loss account shall be drawn up immediately upon completion of the financial year in the form provided in the Cooperative Societies (Forms and Returns) Regulations, 1934, Regulation 2(a).

6. Audit:

The balance sheet and profit and loss account shall be audited as provided in Section 20 of the Cooperative Society, Ordinance 1933, in Regulations 5, 6, and 7 of the Cooperative Societies, Reg. 1934 and Reg. 2 of the Cooperative Society (Forms and Returns) Reg. 1934.

7. Disposal of Profits:

The net profit of the Society shall be appropriated by resolution of the annual General Meeting subject to the provisions of Sec. 37, 40 and 41 of the Cooperative Society Ord. 1933 and Regulation 10 of the Cooperative Society Reg. 1934, provided that not less than 50% shall be appropriated to a Reserve Fund.

8. Reserve Funds:

The Reserve Funds may be invested or may be utilized in developing the business of the Society.

Section D. Special Provisions Relating to the Business of the Society.

1. Power to Borrow:

The Society may receive loans and credits from members and non-members for the development of its business provided that the General Meeting shall fix the maximum amount of loans and credits which the Society may receive from financial institution and persons with whom the Society has dealings in pursuance of its stated objects.

2. Power to Grant Loans:

The Society does not grant loans to its members.

3. Rights and Duties of Members:

- (a) The members have equal rights to receive from the common purse of the Society food, drink, clothing, housing and other necessities or amenities of life for themselves and their dependents, provided that the General Meeting may make arrangements thru the Society towards the support of members' dependents whether resident in the settlement or not and provided that in cases in which the General Meeting deems fit in the interests of the Society special expenditure may be incurred in the case of any member;
- (b) Every member is hereby bound to comply with the instructions of the General Meeting of the Committee of Management and authorized officers of the Society and shall carry out any task that may be allotted to him by them;
- (c) Every member binds himself to pay into the common fund of the Society any wages or other remuneration which he may earn while a member of the Society unless the Committee of Management otherwise directs in writing;

- (d) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in these Rules, the withdrawal of a member may be deferred by the Committee of Management to the end of the agricultural year, following the date of his notice;
- (e) A retiring member shall not be entitled to withdraw any private belongings or monies delivered by him to the Society at the time of his admission unless such return was provided for in a written agreement between him and the Society;

Section E. Administration of the Society.

1. General Meeting:

- (a) The supreme authority shall be vested in the General Meeting of the Society;
- (b) The annual General Meeting shall be held immediately upon the completion of the annual audit of the accounts of the Society;
- (c) The 1st General Meeting shall have the same powers as the annual General Meeting, in so far as these powers apply;
- (d) In an annual General Meeting the business set forth in Reg. 15 of the Cooperative Society Reg. 1934, shall be transacted as well as the following business:

(1) -----

(2) -----

(3) -----

Any other business included in the agenda.

- (e) Extraordinary General Meeting may be convened when necessary by the Committee of Management on its own motion and shall be convened by the Committee of Management within 21 days of the receipt of a written application from the

Registrar, or from the Audit Union or any other central organization to which the Society may be affiliated or from ----- (other elected bodies of the Society) or from not less than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the members of the Society;

- (f) The notice convening General Meeting, which shall contain the agenda for the meeting, shall be delivered to members not less then ---- days before the date fixed for the meeting;
- (g) No resolution may be taken on any matter which is not included in the agenda for the meeting;
- (h) The presence of at least $\frac{2}{3}$ of the members shall be necessary for the disposal of any business at a General Meeting provided that, if the fore-said proportions are not present, the business may be disposed of at an adjourned General Meeting, convened not less than 10 days nor more than 30 days after the date of the 1st meeting for the same purpose, by a majority of the members present;
- (i) Voting at a General Meeting shall, save as provided in Sec. B (3) b, be by show of hands, provided that in cases which not less than $\frac{1}{10}$ of the members present so require, the voting shall be by secret ballot. A majority of votes in favour of any resolution shall, save where otherwise provided in the Cooperative Soc. Ord. 1933, the Reg. issued thereunder, or these Rules, suffice to pass such a resolution, and the resolution shall thereupon be binding on all the members of the Soc. whether or not they were present at the meeting or whether or not they voted in favor of the resolution;
- (j) Every member shall have one vote only and no member shall be entitled to vote by proxy;

- (k) A Chairman shall be elected at each General Meeting, who shall have a casting vote in the case of an equal division of votes;
- (l) All the business discussed at each General Meeting shall be recorded in a minute book which shall be signed by the Chairman of the meeting at which the minutes were adopted. The minutes shall include the names of the members present at the meeting.

2. The Committee of Management

- (a) The Committee of Management shall consist of not less than ----- members of the Society, who have completed their 21st year;
- (b) The members of the Committee of Management shall be elected at the annual General Meeting for the period of 1 year. They shall be eligible for reelection;
- (c) If a vacancy occurs in the Committee of Management during the course of the year, the person obtaining the next largest number of votes at the previous election shall become a member of the Committee, or, if there is no such person, a General Meeting will be convened to elect a member. Members appointed under this paragraph shall hold office until the next annual General Meeting;
- (d) A member of the Committee shall cease to hold office in the circumstances set forth in Reg. 17 of the Coop. Soc., Reg. 1917, and if he absents himself from ----- consecutive meetings of the Committee, without a reason which is deemed by the Committee to be adequate;
- (e) Meetings of the Committee of Management shall be held once in every ----- days. The Chairman shall on application of two members of the Committee of Management call a special meeting for any urgent business;

- (f) The members of the Committee of Management shall elect from their number a Chairman and a Treasurer;
- (g) The attendance of -----members shall be required for the disposal of any business;
- (h) Every member of the Committee of Management shall have one vote and, in case of equality of voting, the Chairman shall have a casting vote;
- (i) The Committee of Management may delegate to any----- of their members powers jointly to sign documents on behalf of and binding the Society;
- (j) All business discussed or decided at meeting of the Committee of Management shall be recorded in a minute book which shall be signed by the Chairman of the meeting at which the minutes are adopted;
- (k) The Committee of Management shall exercise all powers of the Society except those reserved for the General Meeting, subject to any restrictions or conditions duly laid down by the Society in a General Meeting or in these Rules and in particular shall have the powers and duties described hereunder. In their conduct of the affairs of the Society, the Committee of Management shall exercise the prudence and diligence of ordinary men of business and shall be responsible for any loss due to negligence or through acts contrary to the Law, the Regulations issued under the Law and These Rules:--
 - (1) To observe in all their transactions the provisions of the Law relating to Coop. Soc., the Regulations issued thereunder and These Rules;
 - (2) To keep true and accurate accounts of all the transactions of the Society;

- (3) To maintain correct and up-to-date the prescribed Registers;
- (4) To supervise the accounts and sanction expenditure;
- (5) To submit to the Registrar in due time the returns required under the Regulations;
- (6) To prepare a profit and loss account and balance sheet and after audit to lay these before the annual General Meeting;
- (7) To facilitate the auditing of the accounts and to give full information to the Audit Union or auditor as the case may be.
- (8) To consider any reports made by the Registrar, or by the Audit Union or auditor and to take necessary action;
- (9) To consider applications from new members;
- (10) To arrange for the recovery of amounts due to the Society;
- (11) To summon General Meeting;
- (12) If the Society holds immovable or movable property to provide for the writing off annually from the surplus funds of a sufficient portion of the original cost for depreciation;
- (13) To facilitate the inspection of the books by any person authorized to examine them;
- (14) To appoint, suspend and dismiss officers and employees and to obtain fidelity guarantees from such officers

or employees where they consider desirable;

(15) Subject to the approval of the General Meeting to acquire on behalf of the Society shares in Central Societies;

(16) Through any member, officer, or employee of the Society, or any other person authorized by them, to institute, conduct, defend, compromise, refer to arbitration or abandon legal proceedings or claims by or against the Society or Managing Committee or other elected bodies, or the officers or employees concerning the business of the Society;

(17) Generally to carry on the business of the Society.

3. The Secretary:

(a) The Committee of Management shall appoint from their members a Secretary;

(b) The Secretary shall be responsible for the conduct of the routine business of the Society and shall perform such duties as the Committee of Management shall from time to time prescribe.

4. The Treasurer.

The Committee of Management shall appoint one of their members to be the Treasurer of the Society, who shall be responsible for the safe custody of all money received by the Society and for the disbursement authorized by the Committee of Management. He shall verify the cash book at least once weekly, certifying it as correct and shall produce the cash balance whenever called upon to do so by the Committee of Management or the Audit Union or auditor.

5. Chairman,

The Committee of Management shall appoint from their members a Chairman.

6. Allotment of Duties:

The Committee of Management shall allot duties to the members of the Society.

7. Accounts Control Committee:

- (a) The General Meeting shall elect annually an Accounts Control Committee of ----- members who shall supervise the affairs of the Society and the activities of the Committee of Management; shall verify the accounts and cash balances and shall submit their report to the annual General Meeting or to the extraordinary General Meeting convened at their request;
- (b) The members of the Accounts Control Committee shall be members of the Committee of Management. They shall be elected and hold office in the manner prescribed in Rule 2 of Section E above in as far as the conditions set out therein are applicable.

Section F. Miscellaneous

1. Settlement of Disputes:

All disputes concerning the business of the Society or the interpretation of these rules arising between members and for past members and for persons claiming thru them, or between such members, part members or persons claiming through them on the one hand and the Society or the Committee of Management or the officers of the Society in the other hand, shall be referred to a Board of Arbitration appointed in accordance with the provisions of the Law regarding arbitration in force from time to time provided that the Committee of Management may at its descretion bring actions in courts of law for recovery of amounts due to the Society by members or past members.

2. Dissolution of the Society:

- (a) A resolution to dissolve the Society

shall only be valid if $\frac{3}{4}$ of the members of the Society vote in favour thereof and sign the application referred to in Sec. 46 (1) of the Coop. Societies Ordinance, 1933;

- (b) In case of dissolution, any amount held by the Society, after satisfying all its liabilities, shall be disposed of as follows:-----.

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